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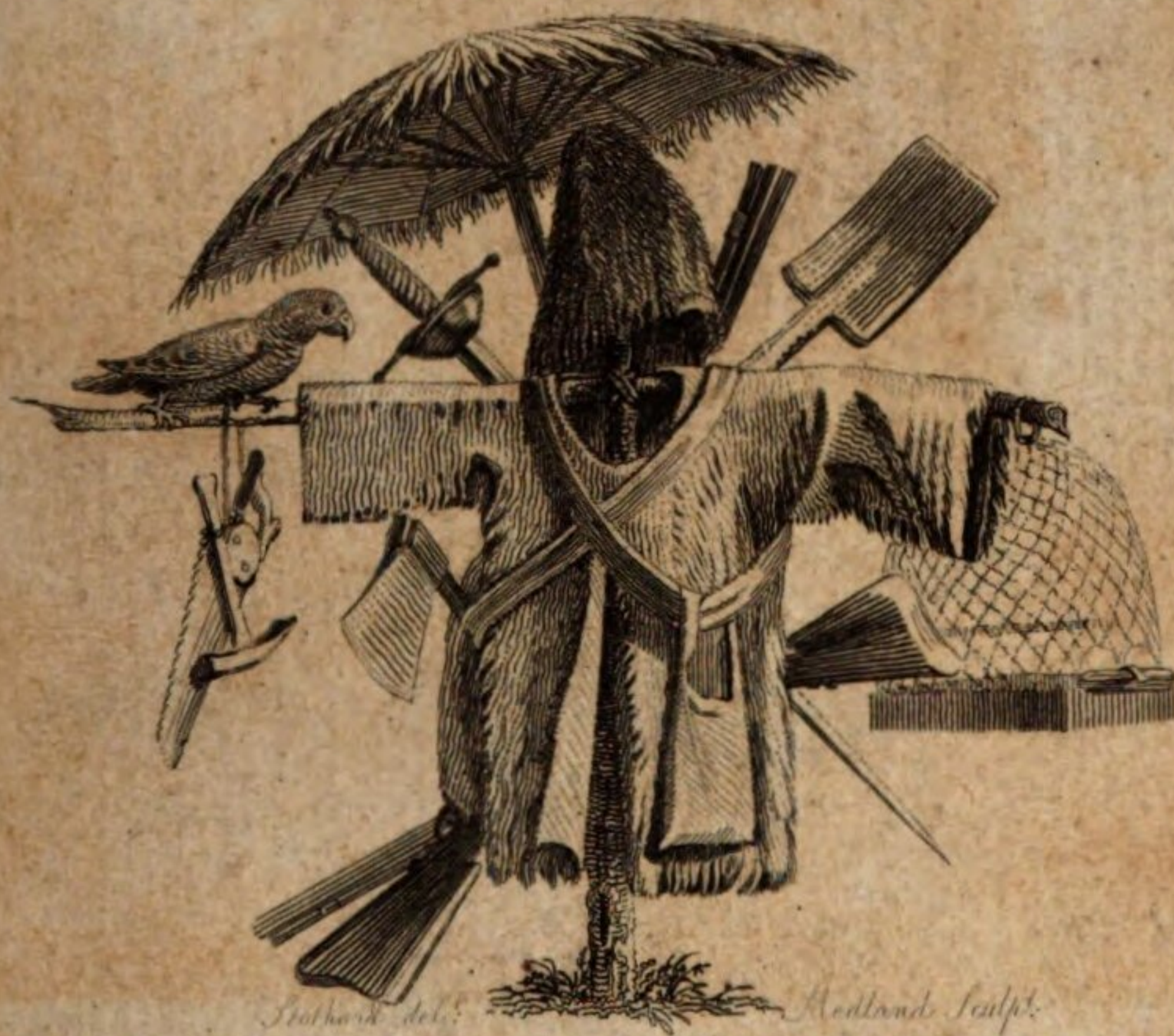
Drawn by Stothard

Engraved by Medland

*First he turned to me, and pointing to them, said, These, Sir,
are some of the gentlemen who owe their lives to you.*

Published July 1. 1790 by I. Stockdale, Piccadilly

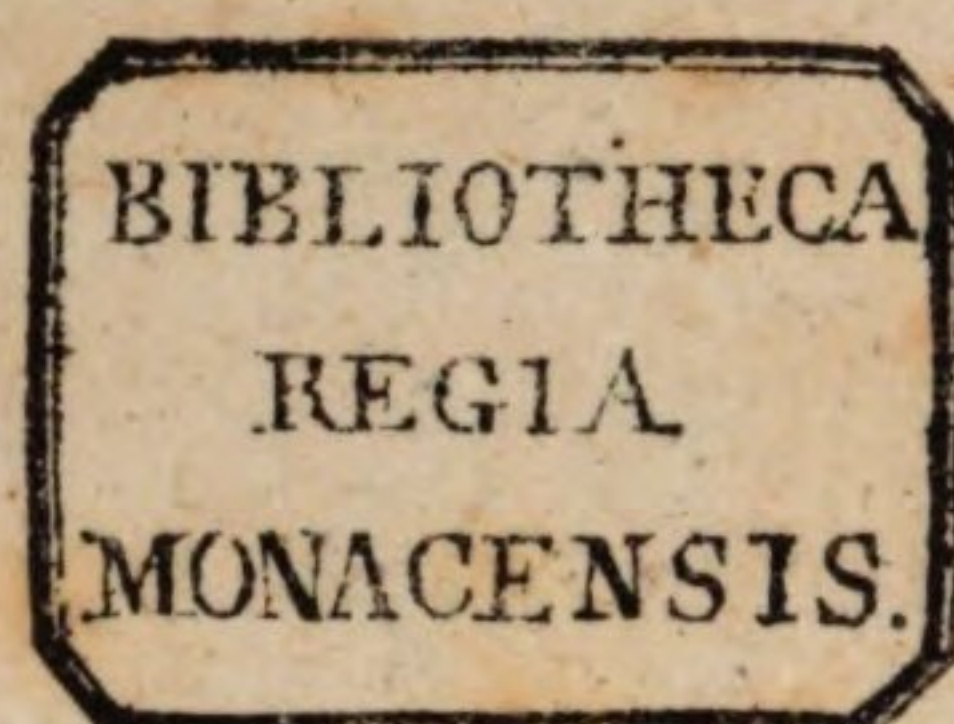
THE FARTHER
ADVENTURES
of
ROBINSON CRUSOE;
being
The Second and Last Part
of his
LIFE,
And of the Strange Surprizing Account of his
TRAVELS
Round three parts of the Globe.
Written by Himself.
VOL. II.



L O N D O N
Printed for John Stockdale, Piccadilly.
1790

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T H E
P R E F A C E.

THE success the former part of this WORK has met with in the world, has yet been no other than is acknowledged to be due to the surprising variety of the subject, and to the agreeable manner of the performance.

All the endeavours of envious people to reproach it with being a romance, to search it for errors in geography, inconsistency in the relation, and contradictions in the fact, have proved abortive, and as impotent as malicious.

The just application of every incident, the religious and useful inferences drawn from every part, are so many testimonies to the good design of making it public, and must legitimate all the part that may be called invention or parable in the story.

The Second Part, if the Editor's opinion may pass, is (contrary to the usage of Second Parts) every way as entertaining as the First; contains as strange and surprising incidents, and as great a variety of them; nor is the application less serious or suitable; and doubtless will, to the sober, as well as the ingenious READER, be every way as profitable and diverting; and this makes the abridging this WORK as scandalous, as it is knavish and ridiculous. Seeing, to shorten the Book, that they may seem to reduce the value, they strip it of all those reflections, as well religious as moral, which are not only the greatest beauties of the WORK, but are calculated for the infinite advantage of the READER.

By this, they leave the WORK naked of its brightest ornaments; and yet they would (at the same time they pretend that the Author has supplied his story out of his invention) take from it the improvement, which alone recommends that invention to wise and good men.

The injury these men do to the PROPRIETORS of WORKS, is a practice all honest

men abhor; and they believe they may challenge them to shew the difference between that and robbing on the highway, or breaking open a house.

If they cannot shew any difference in the crime, they will find it hard to shew why there should be any difference in the punishment.

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THE FARTHER
A D V E N T U R E S
O F
ROBINSON CRUSOE,
Es. Es.

THAT homely proverb used on so many occasions in *England*, viz. *That what is bred in the bone will not go out of the flesh*, was never more verified than in the story of my LIFE. Any one would think, that after thirty-five years affliction, and a variety of unhappy circumstances, which few men, if any, ever went through before, and after near seven years of peace and enjoyment in the fulness of all things; grown old, and when, if ever, it might be allowed me to have had experience of every state of middle life, and to know which was most adapted to make a man compleatly happy; I say, after all this, any one would have thought that the native propensity to rambling, which I gave an account of in my first setting out into the world to have been so predomi-

nate in my thoughts, should be worn out, the volatile part be fully evacuated, or at least condensed, and I might at 61 years of age have been a little inclined to stay at home, and have done venturing life and fortune any more.

Nay farther, the common motive of foreign adventures was taken away in me; for I had no fortune to make, I had nothing to seek: If I had gained ten thousand pounds, I had been no richer; for I had already sufficient for me, and for those I had to leave it to; and that I had was visibly increasing; for having no great family, I could not spend the income of what I had, unless I would set up for an expensive way of living, such as a great family, servants, equipage, gaiety, and the like, which were things I had no notion of, or inclination to; so that I had nothing indeed to do but to sit still, and fully enjoy what I had got, and see it increase daily upon my hands.

Yet all these things had no effect upon me, or at least not enough to resist the strong inclination I had to go abroad again, which hung about me like a chronical distemper; particularly the desire of seeing my new plantation in the island, and the colony I left there, run in my head continually. I dreamed of it all night, and my imagination run upon it all day; it was uppermost in all my thoughts, and my fancy worked so steadily and strongly upon it, that I talked of it in my sleep; in short, nothing could remove it out of my mind; it even broke so violently into all my discourses, that it made my conversation tiresome; for I could talk of nothing else, all my discourse run into it, even to impertinence, and I saw it myself.

I have

I have often heard persons of good judgment say, that all the stir people make in the world about ghosts and apparitions, is owing to the strength of imagination, and the powerful operation of fancy in their minds; that there is no such thing as a spirit appearing, or a ghost walking, and the like; that people's poring affectionately upon the past conversation of their deceased friends so realises it to them, that they are capable of fancying upon some extraordinary circumstances that they see them, talk to them, and are answered by them, when, in truth, there is nothing but shadow and vapour in the thing; and they really know nothing of the matter.

For my part, I know not to this hour whether there are any such things as real apparitions, spectres, or walking of people after they are dead, or whether there is any thing in the stories they tell us of that kind, more than the product of vapours, sick minds, and wandering fancies: But this I know, that my imagination worked up to such a height, and brought me into such excess of vapours, or what else I may call it, that I actually supposed myself often-times upon the spot, at my old castle behind the trees, saw my old *Spaniard*, *Friday's* father, and the reprobate sailors whom I left upon the island; nay, I fancied I talked with them, and looked at them so steadily, though I was broad awake, as at persons just before me; and this I did till I often frightened myself with the images my fancy represented to me: one time in my sleep I had the villainy of the three pirate sailors so lively related to me by the first *Spaniard* and *Fryday's* father, that it was surprizing; they told me how they barbarously attempted to murder all the *Spaniards*, and that they

set fire to the provisions they had laid up, on purpose to distress and starve them, things that I had never heard of, and that were yet all of them true in fact: but it was so warm in my imagination, and so realized to me, that to the hour I saw them, I could not be persuaded but that it was or would be true; also, how I resented it when the *Spaniard* complained to me, and how I brought them to justice, tried them before me, and ordered them all three to be hanged: what there was really in this, shall be seen in its place: for however I came to form such things in my dream, and what secret converse of spirits injected it, yet there was, I say, very much of it true. I own, that this dream had nothing literally and specifically true: but the general part was so true, the base and villainous behaviour of these three hardened rogues was such, and had been so much worse than all I can describe, that the dream had too much similitude of the fact, and as I would afterwards have punished them severely; so if I had hanged them all, I had been much in the right, and should have been justifiable both by the laws of God and man.

But to return to my story. In this kind of temper I had lived some years; I had no enjoyment of my life, no pleasant hours, no agreeable diversion but what had something or other of this in it, so that my wife, who saw my mind so wholly bent upon it, told me very seriously one night, that she believed there was some secret powerful impulse of Providence upon me, which had determined me to go thither again; and that she found nothing hindered my going but my being engaged to a wife and children. She told

told me, that it was true she could not think of parting with me; but as she was assured, that if she was dead it would be the first thing I would do; so, as it seemed to her that the thing was determined above, she would not be the only obstruction: for if I thought fit, and resolved to go——here she found me very intent upon her words, and that I looked very earnestly at her; so that it a little disordered her, and she stopped. I asked her why she did not go on, and say out what she was going to say? But I perceived her heart was too full, and some tears stood in her eyes: Speak out my dear, said I, are you willing I should go? No, says she, very affectionately, I am far from willing: but if you are resolved to go, says she, and rather than I will be the only hindrance, I will go with you; for though I think it a preposterous thing for one of your years, and in your condition, yet if it must be, said she again, weeping, I won't leave you; for if it be of heaven, you must do it; there is no resisting it; and if heaven makes it your duty to go, he will also make it mine to go with you, or otherwise dispose of me, that I may not obstruct it.

This affectionate behaviour of my wife brought me a little out of the vapours, and I began to consider what I was doing; I corrected my wandering fancy, and began to argue with myself sedately, what business I had, after threescore years, and after such a life of tedious sufferings and disasters, and closed in so happy and easy a manner, I say, what business had I to rush into new hazards, and put myself upon adventures, fit only for youth and poverty to run into?

With those thoughts, I considered my new engagement; that I had a wife, one child born, and my wife then great with child of another; that I had all the world could give me, and had no need to seek hazards for gain; that I was declining in years, and ought to think rather of leaving what I had gained, than of seeking to increase it; that as to what my wife had said, of its being an impulse from heaven, and that it should be my duty to go, I had no notion of that; so after many of these cogitations, I struggled with the power of my imagination, reasoned myself out of it, *as I believe people may always do in like cases, if they will*; and, in a word, I conquered it; composed myself with such arguments as occurred to my thoughts, and which my present condition furnished me plentifully with; and particularly, as the most effectual method, I resolved to divert myself with other things, and to engage in some business that might effectually tie me up from any more excursions of this kind; for I found the thing return upon me chiefly when I was idle, had nothing to do, or any thing of moment immediately before me.

To this purpose I bought a little farm in the county of *Bedford*, and resolved to remove myself thither. I had a little convenient house upon it, and the land about it I found was capable of great improvement, and that it was many ways suited to my inclination, which delighted in cultivating, managing, planting and improving of land; and particularly, being an inland country, I was removed from conversing among ships, sailors, and things relating to the remote part of the world,

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In a word, I went down to my farm, settled my family, bought me ploughs, harrows, a cart, waggon, horses, cows, sheep; and setting seriously to work, became in one half year a meer country gentleman; my thoughts were entirely taken up in managing my servants, cultivating the ground, enclosing, planting, &c. and I lived, as I thought, the most agreeable life that nature was capable of directing, or that a man always bred to misfortunes was capable of being retreated to.

I farmed upon my own land, I had no rent to pay, was limited by no articles; I could pull up or cut down as I pleased: what I planted was for myself, and what I improved, was for my family; and having thus left off the thoughts of wandering, I had not the least discomfort in any part of my life, as to this world. Now I thought indeed, that I enjoyed the middle state of life which my father so earnestly recommended to me, a kind of heavenly life, something like what is described by the poet upon the subject of a country life.

*Free from vices, free from care,
Age has no pains, and youth no snare.*

But in the middle of all this felicity, one blow from unforeseen Providence unhinged me at once; and not only made a breach upon me, inevitable and incurable, but drove me, by its consequence, upon a deep relapse into the wandering disposition; which, as I may say, being born in my very blood, soon recovered its hold of me, and, like the returns of a violent distemper, came on with an irresistible force upon me; so that nothing could make any more

impression upon me. This blow was the loss of my wife.

It is not my business here to write an elegy upon my wife, to give a character of her particular virtues, and make my court to the sex by the flattery of a funeral sermon. She was, in a few words, the stay of all my affairs, the center of all my enterprizes, the engine that by her prudence reduced me to that happy compass I was in, from the most extravagant and ruinous project that fluttered in my head as above; and did more to guide my rambling genius, than a mother's tears, a father's instructions, a friend's counsel, or all my own reasoning powers could do. I was happy in listening to her tears, and in being moved by her entreaties, and to the last degree desolate and dislocated in the world by the loss of her.

When she was gone, the world looked awkwardly round me; I was as much a stranger in it, in my thoughts, as I was in the *Brasils* when I went first on shore there; and as much alone, except as to the assistance of servants, as I was in my island. I knew neither what to do, or what not to do. I saw the world busy round me, one part labouring for bread, and the other part squandering in vile excesses or empty pleasures, equally miserable, because the end they proposed still fled from them; for the men of pleasure every day surfeited of their vice, and heaped up work for sorrow and repentance; and the men of labour spent their strength in daily strugglings for breath to maintain the vital strength they laboured with, so living in a daily circulation of sorrow, living but to work, and working but to live, as if daily bread

bread were the only end of a wearisome life, and a wearisome life the only occasion of daily bread.

This put me in mind of the life I lived in my kingdom, the island; where I suffered no more corn to grow, because I did not want it; and bred no more goats, because I had no more use for them: where the money lay in the drawer till it grew mildewed, and had scarce the favour to be looked upon in 20 years.

All these things, had I improved them as I ought to have done, and as reason and religion had dictated to me, would have taught me to search farther than human enjoyments for a full felicity, and that there was something which certainly was the reason and end of life, superior to all these things, and which was either to be possessed, or at least hoped for, on this side the grave.

But my sage counsellor was gone; I was like a ship without a pilot, that could only run before the wind: my thoughts run all away again into the old affair, my head was quite turned with the whimsies of foreign adventures; and all the pleasing innocent amusements of my farm, and my garden, my cattle, and my family, which before entirely possessed me, were nothing to me, had no relish, and were like music to one that has no ear, or food to one that has no taste: In a word, I resolved to leave off house-keeping, lett my farm, and return to *London*; and in a few months after I did so.

When I came to *London*, I was still as uneasy as before; I had no relish to the place, no employment in it, nothing to do but to faunter about like an idle person, of whom it may be said, he is perfectly useless in God's creation and it is not one farthing

farthing matter to the rest of his kind, whether he be dead or alive. This also was the thing which of all circumstances of life was the most my aversion, who had been all my days used to an active life; and I would often say to myself, *A state of idleness is the very dregs of life*; and indeed I thought I was much more suitably employed, when I was 26 days making me a deal board.

It was now the beginning of the year 1693, when my nephew, whom as I have observed before I had brought up to the sea, and had made him commander of a ship, was come home from a short voyage to *Bilboa*, being the first he had made; he came to me, and told me, that some merchants of his acquaintance had been proposing to him to go a voyage for them to the *East Indies* and to *China*, as private traders: and now uncle, says he, if you will go to sea with me, I'll engage to land you upon your old habitation in the island, for we are to touch at the *Brasils*.

Nothing can be a greater demonstration of a future state, and of the existence of an invisible world, than the concurrence of second causes with the ideas of things which we form in our minds, perfectly reserved, and not communicated to any in the world.

My nephew knew nothing how far my distemper of wandering was returned upon me, and I knew nothing of what he had in his thoughts to say, when that very morning before he came to me I had, in a great deal of confusion of thought, and revolving every part of my circumstances in my mind, come to this resolution, viz. That I would go to *Lisbon*, and consult with my old sea-captain; and so, if it was
rational

rational and practicable, I would go and see the island again, and see what was become of my people there. I had pleased myself also with the thoughts of peopling the place, and carrying inhabitants from hence, getting a patent for the possession, and I know not what; when, in the middle of all this, in comes my nephew, as I have said, with his project of carrying me thither, in his way to the *East Indies*.

I paused a while at his words, and looking steadily at him, *What Devil*, said I, *sent you of this unlucky errand?* My nephew startled, as if he had been frightened at first; but perceiving I was not much displeased with the proposal, he recovered himself. I hope it may not be an unlucky proposal, Sir, says he; I dare say you would be pleased to see your new colony there, where you once reigned with more felicity than most of your brother monarchs in the world.

In a word, the scheme hit so exactly with my temper, that is to say, with the prepossession I was under, and of which I have said so much, that I told him, in few words, if he agreed with the merchants, I would go with him: but I told him, I would not promise to go any farther than my own island. Why Sir, says he, you don't want to be left there again, I hope? Why, said I, can you not take me up again in your return? he told me, it could not be possible that the merchants would allow him to come that way with a laden ship of such value, it being a month's sail out of his way, and might be three or four: Besides, Sir, if I should miscarry, said he, and not return at all, then you would be just reduced to the condition you were in before.

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This was very rational; but we both found out a remedy for it, which was to carry a framed sloop on board the ship, which, being taken in pieces and shipped on board the ship, might, by the help of some carpenters, who we agreed to carry with us, be set up again in the island, and finished, fit to go to sea in a few days.

I was not long resolving; for indeed the importunities of my nephew joined in so effectually with my inclination, that nothing could oppose me: on the other hand, my wife being dead, I had nobody concerned themselves so much for me, as to persuade me one way or other, except my ancient good friend the widow, who earnestly struggled with me to consider my years, my easy circumstances, and the needless hazard of a long voyage; and, above all, my young children: but it was all to no purpose; I had an irresistible desire to the voyage; and I told her I thought there was something so uncommon in the impressions I had upon my mind for the voyage, that it would be a kind of resisting Providence, if I should attempt to stay at home; after which she ceased her expostulations, and joined with me, not only in making provision for my voyage, but also in settling my family affairs in my absence, and providing for the education of my children.

In order to this, I made my will, and settled the estate I had in such a manner for my children, and placed in such hands, that I was perfectly easy and satisfied they would have justice done them, whatever might befall me; and for their education, I left it wholly to my widow, with a sufficient maintenance to herself for her care: all which she richly deserved;
for

for no mother could have taken more care in their education, or understood it better; and as she lived till I came home, I also lived to thank her for it.

My nephew was ready to sail about the beginning of *January* 1694-5, and I with my man *Friday* went on board in the *Downs* the 8th, having besides that sloop which I mentioned above, a very considerable cargo of all kinds of necessary things for my colony, which, if I did not find in good condition, I resolved to leave so.

First, I carried with me some servants, whom I purposed to place there, as inhabitants, or at least to set on work there upon my own account, while I stayed, and either to leave them there, or carry them forward, as they should appear willing; particularly, I carried two carpenters, a smith, and a very handy ingenious fellow who was a cooper by trade, but was also a general mechanick; for he was dextrous at making wheels, and hand-mills to grind corn, was a good turner, and a good pot maker; he also made any thing that was proper to make of earth, or of wood; in a word, we called him *our Jack of all trades*.

With these I carried a taylor, who had offered himself to go passenger to the *East Indies* with my nephew, but afterwards consented to stay on our new plantation, and proved a most necessary handy fellow as could be desired, in many other businesses besides that of this trade; for, as I observed formerly, necessity arms us for all employments.

My cargo, as near as I can recollect, for I have not kept an account of the particulars, consisted of a sufficient quantity of linen, and some thin *English* stuffs

stuffs for cloathing the *Spaniards* that I expected to find there, and enough of them as by my calculation might comfortably supply them for seven years ; if I remember right, the materials which I carried for cloathing them, with gloves, hats, shoes, stockings, and all such things as they could want for wearing, amounted to above 200 pounds, including some beds, bedding, and household-stuff, particularly kitchen utensils, with pots, kettles, pewter, brasse, &c. besides near a hundred pounds more in iron-work, nails, tools of every kind, staples, hooks, hinges, and every necessary thing I could think of.

I carried also a hundred spare arms, muskets, and fuzees, besides some pistols, a considerable quantity of shot of all sizes, three or four tons of lead, and two pieces of brass cannon ; and because I knew not what time, and what extremities I was providing for, I carried an hundred barrels of powder, besides swords, cutlasses, and the iron part of some pikes, and halberts ; so that in short we had a large magazine of all sorts of stores ; and I made my nephew carry two small quarter-deck guns more than he wanted for his ship, to leave behind, if there was occasion ; that when they came there, we might build a fort, and man it against all sorts of enemies : and indeed, I at first thought there would be need enough of it all, and much more, if we hoped to maintain our possession of the island, as shall be seen in the course of the story.

I had not such bad luck in this voyage as I had been used to meet with ; and therefore shall have the less occasion to interrupt the reader, who perhaps may be impatient to hear how matters went with my colony ; yet some odd accidents, cross winds, and

and bad weather happened, on this first setting out, which made the voyage longer than I expected it at first; and I, who had never made but one voyage, (viz.) *my first voyage to Guinea*, in which I might be said to come back again as the voyage was at first designed, began to think the same ill fate still attended me; and that I was born to be never contented with being on shore, and yet to be always unfortunate at sea.

Contrary winds first put us to the northward, and we were obliged to put in at *Galway in Ireland*, where we lay wind-bound two and thirty days; but we had this satisfaction with the disaster, that provisions were here exceeding cheap, and in the utmost plenty; so that while we lay here we never touched the ship's stores, but rather added to them; here also I took several hogs, and two cows, with their calves, which I resolved, if I had a good passage, to put on shore in my island; but we found occasion to dispose otherwise of them.

We set out the 5th of *February* from *Ireland*, and had a very fair gale of wind for some days; as I remember, it might be about the 20th of *February* in the evening late, when the mate having the watch, came into the round-house, and told us he saw a flash of fire, and heard a gun fired; and while he was telling us of it, a boy came in, and told us the boatswain heard another. This made us all run out upon the quarter-deck, where for a while we heard nothing, but in a few minutes we saw a very great light, and found that there was some very terrible fire at a distance; immediately we had recourse to our reckonings, in which we all agreed that there could be no land that

that way, in which the fire shewed itself, no not for 500 leagues, for it appeared at W. N. W. upon this we concluded it must be some ship on fire at sea; and as by our hearing the noise of guns just before, we concluded it could not be far off, we stood directly towards it, and were presently satisfied we should discover it, because the farther we sailed the greater the light appeared, tho' the weather being hazy we could not perceive any thing but the light for a while; in about half an hour's sailing, the wind being fair for us, though not much of it, and the weather clearing up a little, we could plainly discern that it was a great ship on fire in the middle of the sea.

I was most sensibly touched with this disaster, though not at all acquainted with the persons engaged in it; I presently recollected my former circumstances, in what condition I was in when taken up by the *Portugal* Captain; and how much more deplorable the circumstances of the poor creatures belonging to this ship must be if they had no other ship in company with them: upon this I immediately ordered, that five guns should be fired, one soon after another, that, if possible, we might give notice to them that there was help for them at hand, and that they might endeavour to save themselves in their boat; for though we could see the flame in the ship, yet they, it being night, could see nothing of us.

We lay by some time upon this, only driving as the burning ship drove, waiting for day light; when on a sudden, to our great terror, though we had reason to expect it, the ship blew up in the air, and immediately sunk: this was terrible, and indeed an afflicting sight, for the sake of the poor men, who, I concluded,

concluded must be either all destroyed in the ship, or be in the utmost distress in their boats in the middle of the ocean, which, at present, by reason it was dark, I could not see: however to direct them as well as I could, I caused lights to be hung out in all the parts of the ship where we could, and which we had lanthorns for, and kept firing guns all the night long; letting them know by this, that there was a ship not far off.

About eight o'clock in the morning, we discovered the ship's boats, by the help of our perspective-glasses; and found there were two of them, both thronged with people, and deep in the water: we perceived they rowed, the wind being against them; that they saw our ship, and did the utmost to make us see them.

We immediately spread our ancient, to let them know we saw them; and hung a waft out, as a signal for them to come on board; and then made more sail, standing directly to them. In a little more than half an hour, we came up with them, and, in a word, took them all in, being no less than sixty-four men, women, and children; for there were a great many passengers.

Upon the whole, we found it was a *French* merchant-ship of 300 tons, homeward-bound from *Quebeck*, in the river of *Canada*. The master gave us a long account of the distress of his ship, how the fire began in the steerage by the negligence of the steersman; but, on his crying out for help, was, as every body thought, entirely put out: but they soon found that some sparks of the first fire had gotten into some part of the ship, so difficult to come at,

that they could not effectually quench it; and afterwards getting in between the timbers, and within the cieling of the ship, it proceeded into the hold, and mastered all the skill and all the application they were able to exert.

They had no more to do then but to get into their boats, which, to their great comfort, were pretty large; being their long boat, and a great shallop, besides a small skiff, which was of no great service to them, other than to get some fresh water and provisions into her, after they had secured themselves from the fire. They had indeed small hope of their lives by getting into these boats at that distance from any land; only, as they said well, that they were escaped from the fire, and had a possibility, that some ship might happen to be at sea, and might take them in. They had sails, oars, and a compass; and were preparing to make the best of their way to *Newfoundland*, the wind blowing pretty fair; for it blew an easy gale at S. E. by E. They had as much provisions and water, as, with sparing it so as to be next door to starving, might support them about 12 days; in which, if they had no bad weather, and no contrary winds, the captain said, he hoped he might get to the banks of *Newfoundland*, and might perhaps take some fish to sustain them till they might go on shore. But there were so many chances against them in all these cases; such as storms to overset and founder them; rains and cold to benumb and perish their limbs; contrary winds to keep them out and starve them; that it must have been next to miraculous if they had escaped.

In the midst of their consultations, every one being hopeless, and ready to despair, the captain with tears
in

in his eyes told me, they were on a sudden surpris'd with the joy of hearing a gun fire, and after that four more; these were the five guns which I caus'd to be fired at first seeing the light: this revived their hearts, and gave them the notice, which, as above, I design'd it should, viz. that there was a ship at hand for their help.

It was upon the hearing these guns, that they took down their masts and sails; and the found coming from the windward, they resolved to lie by till morning. Some time after this, hearing no more guns, they fired three musquets, one a considerable while after another; but these, the wind being contrary, we never heard.

Some time after that again, they were still more agreeably surpris'd with seeing our lights, and hearing the guns, which, as I have said, I caus'd to be fired all the rest of the night; this set them to work with their oars to keep their boats a-head, at least that we might the sooner come up with them; and at last, to their inexpressible joy, they found we saw them

It is impossible for me to express the several gestures, the strange ecstasies, the variety of postures, which these poor delivered people run into, to express the joy of their souls at so unexpected a deliverance; grief and fear are easily described; sighs, tears, groans, and a very few motions of head and hands, make up the sum of its variety: but an excess of joy, a surprise of joy, has a thousand extravagancies in it; there were some in tears, some raging and tearing themselves, as if they had been in the greatest agonies of sorrow; some stark raving and down-right luna-

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tic ; some ran about the ship stamping with their feet, others wringing their hands ; some were dancing, several singing, some laughing, more crying ; many quite dumb, not able to speak a word ; others sick and vomiting, several swooning, and ready to faint ; and a few were crossing themselves and giving God thanks.

I would not wrong them neither ; there might be many that were thankful afterward ; but the passion was too strong for them at first, and they were not able to master it ; they were thrown into ecstasies and a kind of frenzy, and so there were but a very few who were composed and serious in their joy.

Perhaps also the case may have some addition to it, from the particular circumstance of the nation they belonged to ; I mean the *French*, whose temper is allowed to be more volatile, more passionate, and more sprightly, and their spirits more fluid, than of other nations. I am not philosopher to determine the cause, but nothing I had ever seen before came up to it : the ecstasies poor *Friday*, my trusty savage, was in, when he found his father in the boat, came the nearest to it ; and the surprise of the master, and his two companions, whom I delivered from the two villains that set them on shore in the island, came a little way towards it ; but nothing was to compare to this, either that I saw in *Friday*, or any where else in my life.

It is farther observable, that these extravagancies did not show themselves in that different manner I have mentioned, in different persons only : but all the variety would appear in a short succession of moments, in one and the same person. A man that we
saw

saw this minute dumb, and, as it were, stupid and confounded, should the next minute be dancing and hallooing like an antick; and the next moment a tearing his hair, or pulling his clothes to pieces, and stamping them under his feet like a madman; a few minutes after that, we should have him all in tears, then sick, then swooning; and had not immediate help been had, would in a few moments more have been dead; and thus it was, not with one or two, or ten or twenty, but with the greatest part of them; and, if I remember right, our surgeon was obliged to let above thirty of them blood.

There were two priests among them, one an old man, and the other a young man; and that which was strangest was, that the oldest man was the worst.

As soon as he set his foot on board our ship, and saw himself safe, he dropped down stone-dead, to all appearance; not the least sign of life could be perceived in him; our surgeon immediately applied proper remedies to recover him; and was the only man in the ship that believed he was not dead: and at length he opened a vein in his arm, having first chafed and rubbed the part, so as to warm it as much as possible: upon this the blood, which only dropped at first, flowed something freely; in three minutes after the man opened his eyes; and about a quarter of an hour after that he spoke, grew better, and, in a little time, quite well; after the blood was stopped, he walked about, told us he was perfectly well, took a dram of cordial which the surgeon gave him, and was, what we called, come to himself; about a quarter of an hour after this, they came running

into the cabbin to the furgeon, who was bleeding a *French* woman that had fainted; and told him, the priest was gone stark mad. It seems he had began to revolve the change of his circumstances in his mind, and this put him into an ecstasy of joy; his spirits whirled about faster than the vessels could convey them; the blood grew hot and feverish; and the man was as fit for Bedlam as any creature that ever was in it; the furgeon would not bleed him again in that condition, but gave him something to doze and put him to sleep, which, after some time, operated upon him, and he waked next morning perfectly composed, and well.

The younger priest behaved himself with great command of his passion, and was really an example of a serious well-governed mind; at his first coming on board the ship, he threw himself flat on his face, prostrating himself in thankfulness for his deliverance; in which I unhappily and unseasonably disturbed him, really thinking he had been in a swoon; but he spoke calmly; thanked me; told me, he was giving God thanks for his deliverance; begged me to leave him a few moments, and that, next to his Maker, he would give me thanks also.

I was heartily sorry that I disturbed him; and not only left him, but kept others from interrupting him also; he continued in that posture about three minutes, or a little more, after I left him; then came to me, as he had said he would, and, with a great deal of seriousness and affection, but with tears in his eyes, thanked me, that had, under God, given him and so many miserable creatures their lives: I told him, I had no room to move him to thank
God

God for it, rather than me; for I had seen, that he had done that already: but I added, that it was nothing but what reason and humanity dictated to all men, and that we had as much reason as he to give thanks to God, who had blessed us so far as to make us the instruments of his mercy to so many of his creatures.

After this the young priest applied himself to his country folks; laboured to compose them; persuaded intreated, argued, reasoned with them, and did his utmost to keep them within the exercise of their reason; and with some he had success, though others were, for a time, out of all government of themselves.

I cannot help committing this to writing, as perhaps it may be useful to those into whose hands it may fall, in the guiding themselves in all the extravagancies of their passions; for if an excess of joy can carry men out to such a length beyond the reach of their reason, what will not the extravagancies of anger, rage, and a provoked mind, carry us to? And indeed, here I saw reason for keeping an exceeding watch over our passions of every kind, as well those of joy and satisfaction, as those of sorrow and anger.

We were something disordered by these extravagancies among our new guests for the first day; but when they had been retired, lodgings provided for them as well as our ship would allow, and they had slept heartily, as most of them did, being fatigued and frightened, they were quite another sort of people the next day.

Nothing of good manners, or civil acknowledgments for the kindness shewn them was wanting; the *French*, it is known, are naturally apt enough to exceed that way. The captain, and one of the priests, came to me the next day; and, desiring to speak with me and my nephew, the commander, began to consult with us what should be done with them; and first they told us, that, as we had saved their lives, so all they had was little enough for a return to us for the kindness received. The captain said, they had saved some money, and some things of value in their boats, caught hastily out of the flames; and if we would accept it, they were ordered to make an offer of it all to us; they only desired to be set on shore somewhere in our way, where, if possible, they might get a passage to *France*.

My nephew was for accepting their money at first word, and to consider what to do with them afterwards; but I over-ruled him in that part; for I knew what it was to be set on shore in a strange country; and if the *Portugal* captain that took me up at sea had served me so, and took all I had for my deliverance, I must have starved, or have been as much a slave at the *Brasils*, as I had been at *Barbary*, the being sold to a *Mahometan* only excepted; and perhaps a *Portuguese* is not a much better master than a *Turk*, if not, in some cases, a much worse.

I therefore told the *French* captain, that we had taken them up in their distress, it was true; but that it was our duty to do so, as we were fellow-creatures, and as we would desire to be so delivered, if we were in the like or any other extremity; that we had done nothing for them, but what we believed they would
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have done for us if we had been in their case, and they in our's; but that we took them up to serve them, not to plunder them; and that it would be a most barbarous thing, to take that little from them which they had saved out of the fire, and then set them on shore, and leave them; that this would be first to save them from death, and then kill them ourselves; save them from drowning, and then abandon them to starving; and therefore I would not let the least thing be taken from them: as to setting them on shore, I told them indeed, that was an exceeding difficulty to us, for that the ship was bound to the *East-Indies*; and though we were driven out of our course to the westward a very great way, which perhaps was directed by heaven on purpose for their deliverance, yet it was impossible for us wilfully to change our voyage on this particular account; nor could my nephew, the captain, answer it to the freighters, with whom he was under charter-party to pursue his voyage by the way of *Brazil*; and all I knew he could do for them was, to put ourselves in the way of meeting with other ships homeward-bound from the *West-Indies*, and get them passage, if possible, to *England* or *France*.

The first part of the proposal was so generous and kind, they could not but be very thankful for it; but they were in a great consternation, especially the passengers, at the notion of being carried away to the *East-Indies*: they then intreated me, that seeing I was driven so far to the westward before I met with them, I would at least keep on the same course to the banks of *Newfoundland*, where it was possible I might meet with some ship or sloop that they might hire to carry them back to *Canada*, from whence they came.

I thought

I thought this was but a reasonable request on their part; and therefore I inclined to agree to it; for indeed I considered, that to carry this whole company to the *East-Indies*, would not only be an intolerable severity to the poor people, but would be ruining our whole voyage by devouring all our provisions; so I thought it no breach of charter-party, but what an unforeseen accident made absolutely necessary to us; and in which no one could say we were to blame; for the laws of God and nature would have forbid, that we should refuse to take up two boats full of people in such a distressed condition; and the nature of the thing as well respecting ourselves, as the poor people, obliged us to see them on shore somewhere or other, for their deliverance; so I consented that we would carry them to *Newfoundland*, if wind and weather would permit; and, if not, that I would carry them to *Martinico* in the *West-Indies*.

The wind continued fresh easterly, but the weather pretty good; and as it had blowed continually in the points between N. E. and S. E. a long time, we missed several opportunities of sending them to *France*; for we met several ships bound to *Europe*, whereof two were *French*, from *St. Christopher's*; but they had been so long beating up against the wind, that they durst take in no passengers for fear of wanting provisions for the voyage, as well for themselves as for those they should take in; so we were obliged to go on. It was about a week after this, that we made the Banks of *Newfoundland*, where, to shorten my story, we put all our *French* people on board a bark, which they hired at sea there, to put them on shore, and afterwards to carry them to
France,

France, if they could get provisions to victual themselves with: when, I say, all the *French* went on shore, I should remember, that the young priest I spoke of, hearing we were bound to the *East Indies*, desired to go the voyage with us, and to be set on shore on the coast of *Coromandel*: I readily agreed to that; for I wonderfully liked the man, and had very good reason, as will appear afterwards; also four of the seamen entered themselves in our ship, and proved very useful fellows.

From hence we directed our course for the *West-Indies*, steering away S. and S. by E, for about 20 days together, sometimes little or no wind at all, when we met with another subject for our humanity to work upon, almost as deplorable as that before.

It was in the latitude of 27 degrees 5 minutes N. and the 19th day of March, 1684-5, when we espied a sail, our course S. E. and by S. We soon perceived it was a large vessel, and that she bore up to us; but could not at first know what to make of her, till, after coming a little nearer, we found she had lost her main-top-mast, fore-mast, and bowsprit; and presently she fires a gun as a signal of distress; the weather was pretty good, wind at N. N. W. a fresh gale, and we soon came to speak with her.

We found her a ship of *Bristol* bound home from *Barbadoes*, but had been blown out of the road at *Barbadoes*, a few days before she was ready to sail, by a terrible hurricane, while the captain and chief mate were both gone on shore; so that beside the terror of the storm, they were but in an indifferent case for good artists to bring the ship home; they had been already nine weeks at sea, and had met with another
terrible

terrible storm after the hurricane was over, which had blown them quite out of their knowledge to the westward, and in which they had lost their masts, as above; they told us, they expected to have seen the *Bahama* islands, but were then driven away again to the south-east by a strong gale of wind at N. N. W. the same that blew now, and having no sails to work the ship with, but a main-course, and a kind of square sail upon a jury fore-mast, which they had set up, they could not lie near the wind, but were endeavouring to stand away for the *Canaries*.

But that which was worst of all, was, that they were almost starved for want of provisions, besides the fatigues they had undergone; their bread and flesh was quite gone, they had not an ounce left in the ship, and had had none for eleven days; the only relief they had, was, their water was not all spent, and they had about half a barrel of flour left; they had sugar enough; some succades or sweet-meats they had at first, but they were devoured, and they had seven casks of rum.

There was a youth and his mother, and a maid-servant, on board, who were going passengers, and thinking the ship was ready to sail, unhappily came on board the evening before the hurricane began; and, having no provisions of their own left, they were in a more deplorable condition than the rest; for the seamen, being reduced to such an extreme necessity themselves, had no compassion, we may be sure, for the poor passengers; and they were indeed in a condition that their misery is very hard to describe.

I had

I had perhaps not known this part, if my curiosity had not led me, the weather being fair, and the wind abated, to go on board the ship: the second mate, who upon this occasion commanded the ship, had been on board our ship; and he told me indeed, that they had three passengers in the great cabin, that they were in a deplorable condition; nay, says he, I believe they are dead, for I have heard nothing of them for above two days; and I was afraid to enquire after them, said he, for I had nothing to relieve them with.

We immediately applied ourselves to give them what relief we could spare; and indeed I had so far overruled things with my nephew, that I would have victualled them, though we had gone away to *Virginia*, or any part of the coast of *America*, to have supplied ourselves; but there was no necessity for that.

But now they were in a new danger; for they were afraid of eating too much, even of that little we gave them; the mate or commander brought six men with him in his boat; but these poor wretches looked like skeletons, and were so weak, they could hardly sit to their oars: the mate himself was very ill, and half-starved; for he declared he had reserved nothing from the men, and went share and share alike with them in every bit they eat.

I cautioned him to eat sparingly, but set meat before him immediately, and he had not eaten three mouthfuls before he began to be sick, and out of order; so he stopt awhile, and our surgeon mixed him up something with some broth, which he said would be to him both food and physick; and after
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he had taken it, he grew better : in the mean time I forgot not the men ; I ordered victuals to be given them, and the poor creatures rather devoured than eat it ; they were so exceeding hungry, that they were in a manner ravenous, and had no command of themselves ; and two of them eat with so much greediness, that they were in danger of their lives the next morning.

The sight of these people's distress was very moving to me, and brought to mind what I had a terrible prospect of at my first coming on shore in my island, where I had not the least mouthful of food, or any hopes of procuring it ; besides the hourly apprehension I had of being made the food of other creatures. But all the while the mate was thus relating to me the miserable condition of the ship's company, I could not put out of my thought the story he had told me of the three poor creatures in the great cabin ; (viz.) the mother, her son, and the maid servant, whom he had heard nothing of for two or three days ; and whom he seemed to confess they had wholly neglected, their own extremities being so great ; by which I understood, that they had really given them no food at all ; and that therefore they must be perished, and be all lying dead perhaps on the floor or deck of the cabin.

As I therefore kept the mate, whom we then called captain, on board with his men to refresh them, so I also forgot not the starving crew that were left on board, but ordered my own boat to go on board the ship, and with my mate and twelve men to carry them a sack of bread, and four or five pieces of beef to boil. Our surgeon charged the men to cause the
meat

meat to be boiled while they stayed, and to keep guard in the cook-room, to prevent the men's taking it to eat raw, or taking it out of the pot before it was well boiled, and then to give every man but a little at a time; and by this caution he preserved the men, who would otherwise have killed themselves with that very food that was given them on purpose to save their lives.

At the same time, I ordered the mate to go into the great cabin, and see in what condition the poor passengers were in, and, if they were alive, to comfort them and give them what refreshment was proper; and the surgeon gave him a large pitcher with some of the prepared broth which he had given the mate that was on board, and which he did not question would restore them gradually.

I was not satisfied with this; but, as I said above, having a great mind to see the scene of misery, which I knew the ship itself would present me with, in a more lively manner than I could have it by report, I took the captain of the ship, as we now called him, with me, and went myself a little after in their boat.

I found the poor men on board almost in a tumult to get the victuals out of the boiler before it was ready: but my mate observed his order, and kept a good guard at the cook-room door; and the man he placed there, after using all possible persuasion to have patience, kept them off by force: however, he caused some biscuit cakes to be dipped in the pot, and softened them with the liquor of the meat, which they call brewis, and gave them every one one, to stay their stomachs, and told them it was for their
own

own safety, that he was obliged to give them but little at a time. But it was all in vain, and had I not come on board, and their own commander and officers with me, and with good words, and some threats also of giving them no more, I believe they would have broke into the cook-room by force, and tore the meat out of the furnace; for words indeed are of a very small force to an hungry belly: however we pacified them, and fed them gradually and cautiously for the first time, and the next time gave them more, and at last filled their bellies, and the men did well enough.

But the misery of the poor passengers in the cabin was of another nature, and far beyond the rest; for as, first, the ship's company had so little for themselves, it was but too true, that they had at first kept them very low, and at last totally neglected them; so that for six or seven days, it might be said, they had really had no food at all, and for several days before, very little.

The poor mother, who, as the first mate reported, was a woman of good sense, and good breeding, had spared all she could get so affectionately for her son, that at last she entirely sunk under it: and when the mate of our ship went in, she set upon the floor or deck, with her back up against the sides, between two chairs, which were lashed fast, and her head sunk in between her shoulders, like a corpse, though not quite dead. My mate said all he could to revive and encourage her, and with a spoon put some broth into her mouth; she opened her lips, and lifted up one hand, but could not speak: yet she understood what he said, and made signs to him, intimating, that

that it was too late for her ; but pointed to her child, as if she would have said, they should take care of him.

However the mate, who was exceedingly moved with the sight, endeavoured to get some of the broth into her mouth ; and, as he said, got two or three spoonfuls down, though I question whether he could be sure of it or not : but it was too late, and she died the same night.

The youth, who was preserved at the price of his most affectionate mother's life, was not so far gone ; yet he lay in a cabin-bed as one stretched out, with hardly any life left in him ; he had a piece of an old glove in his mouth, having eaten up the rest of it ; however, being young, and having more strength than his mother, the mate got something down his throat, and he began sensibly to revive, though, by giving him some time after but two or three spoonfuls extraordinary, he was very sick, and brought it up again.

But the next care was the poor maid ; she lay all along upon the deck hard by her mistress, and just like one that had fallen down with an apoplexy, and struggled for life : her limbs were distorted, one of her hands was clasped round the frame of one chair, and she griped it so hard, that we could not easily make her let it go ; her other arm lay over her head, and her feet lay both together, set fast against the frame of the cabin-table ; in short, she lay just like one in the last agonies of death ; and yet she was alive too.

The poor creature was not only starved with hunger, and terrified with the thoughts of death, but, as the men told us afterwards, was broken-

hearted for her mistress, whom she saw dying two or three days before, and whom she loved most tenderly.

We knew not what to do with this poor girl; for when our surgeon, who was a man of very great knowledge and experience, and with great application recovered her as to life, he had her upon his hand as to her senses, for she was little less than distracted for a considerable time after; as shall appear presently.

Whoever shall read these memorandums, must be desired to consider, that visits at sea are not like a journey into the country, where sometimes people stay a week or a fortnight at a place. Our business was to relieve this distressed ship's crew, but not lie by for them; and though they were willing to steer the same course with us for some days, yet we could carry no sail to keep pace with a ship that had no masts: however, as their captain begged of us to help him to set up a main top-mast, and a kind of top-mast to his jury fore-mast, we did, as it were, lie by him for three or four days, and then having given him five barrels of beef and pork, two hogheads of biscuit, and a proportion of peas, flour, and what other things we could spare; and taking three casks of sugar and some rum, and some pieces of eight of them for satisfaction, we left them, taking on board with us, at their own earnest request, the youth, and the maid, and all their goods.

The young lad was about seventeen years of age, a pretty, well-bred, modest, and sensible youth; greatly dejected with the loss of his mother, and, as it seems, had lost his father but a few months before
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at *Barbadoes*. He begged of the surgeon to speak to me, to take him out of the ship; for he said, the cruel fellows had murdered his mother; and indeed so they had, that is to say, passively; for they might have spared a small sustenance to the poor helpless widow, that might have preserved her life, though it had been just to keep her alive. But hunger knows no friend, no relation, no justice, no right; and therefore is remorseless, and capable of no compassion.

The surgeon told him how far we were going, and how it would carry him away from all his friends, and put him perhaps in as bad circumstances, almost, as we found them in; that is to say, starving in the world. He said he mattered not whither he went, if he was but delivered from the terrible crew that he was among: that the captain (by which he meant me, for he could know nothing of my nephew) had saved his life, and he was sure would not hurt him; and as for the maid, he was sure, if she came to herself, she would be very thankful for it, let us carry them whither we would. The surgeon represented the case so affectionately to me, that I yielded, and we took them both on board with all their goods, except eleven hogheads of sugar, which could not be removed, or come at; and as the youth had a bill of lading for them, I made his commander sign a writing, obliging him to go, as soon as he came to *Bristol*, to one Mr. *Rogers*, a merchant there, to whom the youth said he was related, and to deliver a letter which I wrote to him, and all the goods he had belonging to the deceased widow; which I suppose was not done; for I could never learn that

the ship came to *Bristol*; but was, as is most probable, lost at sea, being in so disabled a condition, and so far from any land, that I am of opinion, the first storm she met with afterwards she might founder in the sea; for she was leaky, and had damage in her hold when I met with her.

I was now in the latitude of 19 deg. 32 min. and had hitherto had a tolerable voyage as to weather, tho' at first the winds had been contrary. I shall trouble nobody with the little incidents of wind, weather, currents, &c. on the rest of our voyage; but, shortening my story for the sake of what is to follow, shall observe, that I came to my old habitation, the island, on the 10th of April, 1695. It was with no small difficulty that I found the place; for as I came to it, and went from it before, on the south and east side of the island, as coming from the *Brasils*, so now coming in between the main and the island, and having no chart for the coast, nor any landmark, I did not know it when I saw it, or know whether I saw it or no.

We beat about a great while, and went on shore on several islands in the mouth of the great river *Oroonoque*, but none for my purpose; only this I learned by my coasting the shore, that I was under one great mistake before, viz. that the continent which I thought I saw from the island I lived in, was really no continent, but a long island, or rather a ridge of islands reaching from one to the other side of the extended mouth of that great river; and that the savages who came to my island, were not properly those which we call *Caribees*, but islanders, and other Barbarians of the same kind, who inhabited something nearer to our side than the rest.

In short, I visited several of the islands to no purpose; some I found were inhabited, and some were not. On one of them I found some *Spaniards*, and thought they had lived there; but speaking with them, found they had a sloop lay in a small creek hard by, and that they came thither to make salt, and catch some pearl-muscles, if they could; but they belonged to the *Isle de Trinidad*, which lay farther north, in the latitude of 10 and 11 degrees.

Thus coasting from one island to another, sometimes with the ship, sometimes with the *Frenchman's* shallop (which we had found a convenient boat, and therefore kept her with their very good will), at length I came fair on the south-side of my island, and I presently knew the very countenance of the place; so I brought the ship safe to an anchor, broadside with the little creek where was my old habitation.

As soon as I saw the place, I called for *Friday*, and asked him, if he knew where he was? He looked about a little, and presently clapping his hands, cried, O yes, O there, O yes, O there! pointing to our old habitation, and fell a dancing and capering like a mad fellow; and I had much ado to keep him from jumping into the sea, to swim ashore to the place.

Well, *Friday*, said I, do you think we shall find any body here, or no? and what do you think, shall we see your father? The fellow stood mute as a stock a good while; but when I named his father, the poor affectionate creature looked dejected; and I could see the tears run down his face very plentifully.

What is the matter *Friday*, said I? are you troubled because you may see your father? No, no, says he,

shaking his head, no see him more, no ever more see again. Why so, said I, *Friday*? how do you know that? O no, O no, says *Friday*, he long ago die; long ago, he much old man. Well, well, said I, *Friday*, you don't know: but shall we see any one else then: the fellow, it seems, had better eyes than I, and he points just to the hill above my old house; and tho' we lay half a league off, he cries out, Me see! me see! yes, yes, me see much man there, and there, and there. I looked, but I could see nobody, no, not with a perspective glass; which was, I suppose, because I could not hit the place; for the fellow was right, as I found upon enquiry the next day, and there were five or six men altogether stood to look at the ship, not knowing what to think of us.

As soon as *Friday* had told me he saw people, I caused the *English* ancient to be spread, and fired three guns, to give them notice we were friends; and about half a quarter of an hour after, we perceived a smoke rise from the side of the creek; so I immediately ordered a boat out, taking *Friday* with me; and, hanging out a white flag, or a flag of truce, I went directly on shore, taking with me the young friar I mentioned, to whom I had told the whole story of my living there, and the manner of it, and every particular, both of myself, and those that I left there; and who was on that account extremely desirous to go with me. We had besides about sixteen men very well armed, if we had found any new guest there which we did not know of; but we had no need of weapons.

As we went on shore upon the tide of flood, near high water, we rowed directly into the creek; and the

the first man I fixed my eye upon, was the *Spaniard* whose life I had saved, and whom I knew by his face perfectly well; as to his habit, I shall describe it afterwards. I ordered nobody to go on shore at first but myself; but there was no keeping *Friday* in the boat: for the affectionate creature had spied his father at a distance, a good way off of the *Spaniards*, where indeed I saw nothing of him; and if they had not let him go on shore, he would have jumped into the sea. He was no sooner on shore, but he flew away to his father like an arrow out of a bow. It would have made any man shed tears, in spite of the firmest resolution, to have seen the first transports of this poor fellow's joy, when he came to his father; how he embraced him, kissed him, stroaked his face, took him up in his arms, set him down upon a tree, and lay down by him; then stood and looked at him as any one would look at a strange picture, for a quarter of an hour together; then lay down upon the ground, and stroaked his legs, and kissed them, and then got up again, and stared at him; one would have thought the fellow bewitched: but it would have made a dog laugh to see how the next day his passion run out another way: in the morning he walked along the shore, to and-again, with his father, several hours, always leading him by the hand, as if he had been a lady; and every now-and-then would come to fetch something or other for him from the boat, either a lump of sugar, or a dram, a biscuit, or something or other that was good. In the afternoon his frolics ran another way, for then he would set the old man down upon the ground, and dance about him, and made a thousand antic postures and gestures; and

all the while he did this, he would be talking to him, and telling him one story or another of his travels, and of what had happened to him abroad, to divert him. In short, if the same filial affection was to be found in christians to their parents, in our parts of the world, one would be tempted to say, there hardly would have been any need of the fifth commandment.

But this is a digression; I return to my landing. It would be endless to take notice of all the ceremonies and civilities that the *Spaniards* received me with. The first *Spaniard*, whom, as I said, I knew very well was he whose life I saved, he came towards the boat, attended by one more, carrying a flag of truce also; and he did not only not know me at first, but he had no thoughts, no notion, of its being me that was come, till I spoke to him: *Seignor*, said I, in *Portuguese*, do you not know me? at which he spoke not a word; but giving his musquet to the man that was with him, threw his arms abroad, and saying something in *Spanish*, that I did not perfectly hear, came forward, and embraced me, telling me, he was inexcusable not to know that face again that he had once seen, as of an angel from Heaven sent to save his life: he said abundance of very handsome things, as a well-bred *Spaniard* always knows how; and then beckoning to the person that attended him, bade him go and call out his comrades. He then asked me, if I would walk to my old habitation, where he would give me possession of my own house again, and where I should see there had been but mean improvements; so I walked along with him; but, alas! I could no more find the place again, than
if

if I had never been there; for they had planted so many trees, and placed them in such a posture, so thick and close to one another, in ten years time they were grown so big, that, in short, the place was inaccessible, except by such windings and blind ways, as they themselves only who made them could find.

I asked them, what put them upon all these fortifications? He told me, I would say there was need enough of it, when they had given an account how they had passed their time since their arriving in the island, especially after they had the misfortune to find that I was gone: he told me he could not but have some satisfaction in my good fortune, when he heard that I was gone in a good ship, and to my satisfaction; and that he had oftentimes a strong persuasion, that one time or other he should see me again: but nothing that ever befel him in his life, he said, was so surprising and afflicting to him at first, as the disappointment he was under when he came back to the island, and found I was not there.

As to the three Barbarians (so he called them) that were left behind, and of whom he said he had a long story to tell me; the *Spaniards* all thought themselves much better among the savages, only that their number was so small. And, says he, had they been strong enough, we had been all long ago in purgatory; and with that he crossed himself upon the breast. But Sir, says he, I hope you will not be displeased, when I shall tell you how, forced by necessity, we were obliged, for our own preservation, to disarm them, and making them our subjects, who would not be content with being moderately our masters, but would be our murderers. I answered, I
was

was heartily afraid of it when I left them there ; and nothing troubled me at my parting from the island, but that they were not come back, that I might have put them in possession of every thing first, and left the other in a state of subjection, as they deserved : but if they had reduced them to it, I was very glad, and should be very far from finding any fault with it ; for I knew they were a parcel of refractory ungovernable villains, and were fit for any manner of mischief.

While I was saying this, came the man whom he had sent back, and with him eleven men more : in the drefs they were in, it was impossible to guess what nation they were of ; but he made all clear both to them and to me. First he turned to me, and pointing to them, said, These, Sir, are some of the gentlemen who owe their lives to you ; and then turning to them, and pointing to me, he let them know who I was ; upon which they all came up one by one, not as if they had been sailors, and ordinary fellows, and I the like, but really, as if they had been ambassadors or noblemen, and I a monarch, or a great conqueror : their behaviour was to the last degree obliging and courteous, and yet mixed with a manly majestic gravity, which very well became them ; and in short, they had so much more manners than I, that I scarce knew how to receive their civilities, much less how to return them in kind.

The history of their coming to, and conduct in the island, after my going away, is so remarkable, and has so many incidents, which the former part of my relation will help to understand, and which will, in most of the particulars, refer to that account I have already

already given, that I cannot but commit them with great delight to the reading of those that come after me.

I shall no longer trouble the story with a relation in the first person, which will put me to the expence of ten thousand said I's, and said he's, and he told me's, and I told him's, and the like; but I shall collect the facts historically, as near as I can gather them out of my memory from what they related to me, and from what I met with in my conversing with them, and with the place.

In order to do this succinctly, and as intelligibly as I can, I must go back to the circumstance in which I left the island, and which the persons were in, of whom I am to speak. At first, it is necessary to repeat, that I had sent away *Friday's* father and the *Spaniard*, the two whose lives I had rescued from the savages; I say, I had sent them away in a large canoe to the main, as I then thought it, to fetch over the *Spaniard's* companions whom he had left behind him, in order to save them from the like calamity that he had been in; and in order to succour them for the present, and that, if possible, we might together find some way for our deliverance afterward.

When I sent them away, I had no visible appearance of, or the least room to hope for, my own deliverance, any more than I had twenty years before; much less had I any foreknowledge of what after happened, I mean of an *English* ship coming on shore there to fetch them off; and it could not but be a very great surprize to them, when they came back, not only to find that I was gone, but to find three
strangers

strangers left on the spot, possessed of all that I had left behind me, which would otherwise have been their own.

The first thing, however, which I enquired into, that I might begin where I left off, was of their own part: and I desired he would give me a particular account of his voyage back to his countrymen with the boat, when I sent him to fetch them over. He told me there was little variety in that part; for nothing remarkable happened to them on the way, they having very calm weather, and a smooth sea; for his countrymen, it could not be doubted, he said, but that they were overjoyed to see him (it seems he was the principal man among them, the captain of the vessel they had been shipwrecked in, having been dead some time): they were, he said, the more surprised to see him, because they knew that he was fallen into the hands of savages, who, they were satisfied, would devour him, as they did all the rest of their prisoners; that when he told them the story of the deliverance, and in what manner he was furnished for carrying them away, it was like a dream to them: and their astonishment, they said, was something like that of *Joseph's* brethren, when he told them who he was, and told them the story of his exaltation in *Pharaoh's* court: but when he shewed them the arms, the powder, the ball, and the provisions that he brought them for their journey or voyage, they were restored to themselves, took a just share of the joy of their deliverance, and immediately prepared to come away with him.

Their first business was to get canoes; and in this they were obliged not to stick so much upon the
honest

honest part of it, but to trespass upon their friendly savages, and to borrow two large canoes or periagua's, on pretence of going out a-fishing, or for pleasure.

In these they came away the next morning; it seems they wanted no time to get themselves ready, for they had no baggage, neither clothes, or provisions, or any thing in the world, but what they had on them, and a few roots to eat, of which they used to make their bread.

They were in all three weeks absent, and in that time, unluckily for them, I had the occasion offered for my escape, as I mentioned in my other part, and to get off from the island; leaving three of the most impudent, hardened, ungoverned, disagreeable villains behind me, that any man could desire to meet with, to the poor *Spaniards* great grief and disappointment, you may be sure.

The only just thing the rogues did, was, that when the *Spaniards* came on shore, they gave my letter to them, and gave them provisions, and other relief, as I had ordered them to do; also they gave them the long paper of directions, which I had left with them, containing the particular methods which I took for managing every part of my life there; the way how I baked my bread, bred up my tame goats, and planted my corn; how I cured my grapes, made my pots, and, in a word, every thing I did; all this being written down, they gave to the *Spaniards*, two of whom understood *English* well enough; nor did they refuse to accommodate the *Spaniards* with any thing else, for they agreed very well for some time; they gave them an equal admission into the house, or cave, and they began to live very sociably; and the head *Spaniard*,

Spaniard, who had seen pretty much of my method; and *Friday's* father together, managed all their affairs, for, as for the *Englishmen*, they did nothing but ramble about the island, shoot parrots, and catch tortoises, and when they came home at night, the *Spaniards* provided their suppers for them.

The *Spaniards* would have been satisfied with this, would the other but have left them alone; which, however, they could not find in their hearts to do long; but, like the dog in the manger, they would not eat themselves, and would not let others eat neither: the differences, nevertheless, were at first but trivial, and such as are not worth relating; but at last it broke out into open war, and it began with all the rudeness and insolence that can be imagined, without reason, without provocation, contrary to nature, and indeed to common sense; and though, it is true, the first relation of it came from the *Spaniards* themselves, whom I may call the accusers, yet when I came to examine the fellows, they could not deny a word of it.

But before I come to the particulars of this part, I must supply a defect in my former relation; and this was, that I forgot to set down among the rest, that, just as we were weighing the anchor to set sail, there happened a little quarrel on board our ship, which I was afraid once would turn to a second mutiny; nor was it appeased till the captain, rousing up his courage, and taking us all to his assistance, parted them by force, and making two of the most refractory fellows prisoners, he laid them in irons; and as they had been active in the former disorders, and let fall some ugly dangerous words the second time,

time, he threatened to carry them in irons to *England*, and have them hanged there for mutiny, and running away with the ship.

This, it seems, though the captain did not intend to do, it frightened some other men in the ship; and some of them had put it in the heads of the rest, that the captain only gave them good words for the present, till they should come to some *English* port; and that then they should be all put into a gaol, and tried for their lives.

The mate got intelligence of this, and acquainted us with it; upon which it was desired, that I, who still passed for a great man among them, should go down with the mate, and satisfy the men, and tell them, that they might be assured, if they behaved well the rest of the voyage, all they had done for the time past should be pardoned. So I went, and after passing my honour's word to them, they appeared easy, and the more so, when I caused the two men, who were in irons, to be released and forgiven.

But this mutiny had brought us to an anchor for that night, the wind also falling calm; next morning we found, that our two men who had been laid in irons, had stole each of them a musket, and some other weapons; what powder or shot they had, we knew not; and had taken the ship's pinnace, which was not yet haled up, and run away with her to their companions in roguery on shore.

As soon as we found this, I ordered the long-boat on shore, with twelve men and the mate, and away they went to seek the rogues; but they could neither find them, nor any of the rest; for they all fled into the woods, when they saw the boat coming on shore.

The

The mate was once resolved, in justice to their roguery, to have destroyed their plantations, burnt all their household-stuff and furniture, and left them to shift without it; but having no order, he let all alone, left every thing as they found it, and bringing the pinnace away, came on board without them.

These two men made their number five; but the other three villains were so much wickeder than these, that after they had been two or three days together, they turned their two new-comers out of doors to shift for themselves, and would have nothing to do with them; nor could they, for a good while, be persuaded to give them any food; as for the *Spaniards*, they were not yet come.

When the *Spaniards* came first on shore, the business began to go forward; the *Spaniards* would have persuaded the three *English* brutes to have taken in their two countrymen again, that, as they said, they might be all one family; but they would not hear of it: so the two poor fellows lived by themselves, and finding nothing but industry and application would make them live comfortable, they pitched their tents on the north shore of the island, but a little more to the west, to be out of the danger of the savages, who always landed on the east parts of the island.

Here they built two huts, one to lodge in, and the other to lay up their magazines and stores in; and the *Spaniards* having given them some corn for feed, and especially some of the peas which I had left them, they dug and planted, and inclosed, after the pattern I had set for them all, and began to live pretty well; their first crop of corn was on the ground, and though it was but a little bit of land which
they

they had dug up at first, having had but a little time, yet it was enough to relieve them, and find them with bread or other eatables; and one of the fellows, being the cook's mate of the ship, was very ready at making soup, puddings, and such other preparations, as the rice and the milk, and such little flesh as they got, furnished him to do.

They were going on in a little thriving posture, when the three unnatural rogues, their own countrymen too, in mere humour, and to insult them, came and bullied them, and told them the island was theirs; that the governor, meaning me, had given them possession of it, and nobody else had any right to it; and, damn them, they should build no houses upon their ground, unless they would pay them rent for them.

The two men thought they had jested at first; and asked them to come and sit down, and see what fine houses they were that they had built, and tell them what rent they demanded: and one of them merrily told them, if they were ground-landlords, he hoped if they built tenements upon the land, and made improvements, they would, according to the custom of all landlords, grant them a long lease; and bid them go fetch a scrivener to draw the writings. One of the three, damning and raging, told them, they should see they were not in jest; and going to a little place at a distance, where the honest men had made a fire to dress their victuals, he takes a fire-brand, and claps it to the outside of their hut, and very fairly set it on fire; and it would have been all burnt down in a few minutes, if one of the two had not run to the fellow, thrust him away, and trod the fire

out with his feet, and that not without some difficulty too.

The fellow was in such a rage at the honest man's thrusting him away, that he turned upon him with a pole he had in his hand; and had not the man avoided the blow very nimbly, and run into the hut, he had ended his days at once. His comrade, seeing the danger they were both in, ran in after him, and immediately they came both out with their muskets; and the man that was first struck at with the pole, knocked the fellow down, who began the quarrel, with the stock of his musquet, and that before the other two could come to help him; and then seeing the rest come at them, they stood together, and presenting the other ends of their pieces to them, bade them stand off.

The others had fire-arms with them too; but one of the two honest men, bolder than his comrade, and made desperate by his danger, told them, if they offered to move hand or foot, they were all dead men; and boldly commanded them to lay down their arms. They did not indeed lay down their arms; but, seeing him resolute, it brought them to a parley, and they consented to take their wounded man with them, and be gone; and indeed, it seems the fellow was wounded sufficiently with the blow; however, they were much in the wrong, since they had the advantage, that they did not disarm them effectually, as they might have done, and have gone immediately to the *Spaniards*, and given them an account how the rogues had treated them; for the three villains studied nothing but revenge, and every day gave them some intimation that they did so.

But

But not to crowd this part with an account of the lesser part of their rogueries, such as treading down their corn, shooting three young kids, and a she-goat, which the poor men had got to breed up tame for their store; and, in a word, plaguing them night and day in this manner, it forced the two men to such a desperation, that they resolved to fight them all three the first time they had a fair opportunity. In order to this they resolved to go to the castle, as they called it, that was my old dwelling, where the three rogues and the *Spaniards* all lived together at that time, intending to have a fair battle, and the *Spaniards* should stand by to see fair play. So they got up in the morning before day, and came to the place, and called the *Englishmen* by their names, telling a *Spaniard* that answered, that they wanted to speak with them.

It happened that the day before two of the *Spaniards*, having been in the woods, had seen one of the two *Englishmen*, whom, for distinction, I call the honest men; and he had made a sad complaint to the *Spaniards*, of the barbarous usage they had met with from their three countrymen, and how they had ruined their plantation, and destroyed their corn, that they had laboured so hard to bring forward, and killed the milch-goat, and their three kids, which was all they had provided for their sustenance; and that if he and his friends, meaning the *Spaniards*, did not assist them again, they should be starved. When the *Spaniards* came home at night, and they were all at supper, he took the freedom to reprove the three *Englishmen*, though in gentle and mannerly terms, and asked them, how they could be so cruel,

they being harmless inoffensive fellows, and that they were putting themselves in a way to subsist by their labour, and that it had cost them a great deal of pains to bring things to such perfection as they had?

One of the *Englishmen* returned very briskly, What had they to do there? That they came on shore without leave, and that they should not plant or build upon the island; it was none of their ground. Why, says the *Spaniard*, very calmly, Signior *Inglese*, they must not starve. The *Englishman* replied, like a true rough-hewn tarpaulin, they might starve and be damned, they should not plant nor build in that place. But what must they do then, Signior? says the *Spaniard*. Another of the brutes returned, Do! d—n them, they should be servants, and work for them. But how can you expect that of them? they are not bought with your money; you have no right to make them servants. The *Englishman* answered, The island was theirs, the governor had given it to them, and no man had any thing to do there but themselves; and with that swore by his Maker, that he would go and burn all their new huts; they should build none upon their land.

Why Signior, says the *Spaniard*, by the same rule, we must be your servants too. Ay, says the bold dog, and so you shall too, before we have done with you, mixing two or three G—d d—mme's in the proper intervals of his speech. The *Spaniard* only smiled at that, and made him no answer. However, this little discourse had heated them; and starting up, one says to the other, I think it was he they called Will Atkins, Come Jack, let us go and have the other brush with them; we will demolish
their

their castle, I will warrant you; they shall plant no colony in our dominions.

Upon this they were all trooping away, with every man a gun, a pistol, and a sword, and muttered some insolent things among themselves, of what they would do to the *Spaniards* too, when opportunity offered; but the *Spaniards*, it seems, did not so perfectly understand them as to know all the particulars; only that, in general, they threatened them hard for taking the two *Englishmen's* part.

Whither they went, or how they bestowed their time that evening, the *Spaniards* said they did not know; but it seems they wandered about the country part of the night; and then lying down in the place which I used to call my bower, they were weary, and overslept themselves. The case was this: they had resolved to stay till midnight, and so to take the poor men when they were asleep; and they acknowledged it afterwards, intending to set fire to their huts while they were in them, and either burn them in them, or murder them as they came out: and, as malice seldom sleeps very sound, it was very strange they should not have been kept waking.

However, as the two men had also a design upon them, as I have said, tho' a much fairer one than that of burning and murdering, it happened, and very luckily for them all, that they were up and gone abroad, before the bloody-minded rogues came to their huts.

When they came thither and found the men gone, Atkins, who it seems was the forwardest man, called out to his comrades, Ha! Jack, here's the nest; but d—n them, the birds are flown: they mused a while

to think what should be the occasion of their being gone abroad so soon, and suggested presently, that the *Spaniards* had given them notice of it; and with that they shook hands, and swore to one another, that they would be revenged of the *Spaniards*. As soon as they had made this bloody bargain, they fell to work with the poor men's habitation; they did not set fire indeed to any thing, but they pulled down both their houses, and pulled them so limb from limb that they left not the least stick standing, or scarce any sign on the ground where they stood; they tore all their little collected household-stuff in pieces, and threw every thing about in such a manner, that the poor men found, afterwards, some of their things a mile off from their habitation.

When they had done this, they pulled up all the young trees which the poor men had planted; pulled up the inclosure they had made to secure their cattle and their corn; and, in a word, sacked and plundered every thing, as completely as a herd of *Tartars* would have done.

The two men were at this juncture gone to find them out, and had resolved to fight them wherever they had been, tho' they were but two to three: so that, had they met, there certainly would have been bloodshed among them; for they were all very stout, resolute fellows, to give them their due.

But Providence took more care to keep them asunder, than they themselves could do to meet: for, as they had dogged one another, when the three were gone thither, the two were here; and afterwards, when the two went back to find them, the three were come to the old habitation again; we shall see their
differing

differing conduct presently. When the three came back, like furious creatures, flushed with the rage which the work they had been about put them into, they came up to the *Spaniards*, and told them what they had done, by way of scoff and bravado; and one of them stepping up to one of the *Spaniards*, as if they had been a couple of boys at play, takes hold of his hat, as it was upon his head, and giving it a twirl about, fltering in his face, says he to him, And you, Seignior *Jack Spaniard*, shall have the same sauce, if you do not mend your manners. The *Spaniard* who, though quite a civil man, was as brave as a man could desire to be, and withal a strong well-made man, looked steadily at him for a good while; and then, having no weapon in his hand, stepped gravely up to him, and with one blow of his fist, knocked him down, as an ox is felled with a pole-axe, at which one of the rogues, insolent as the first, fired his pistol at the *Spaniard* immediately: he missed his body indeed, for the bullets went through his hair, but one of them touched the tip of his ear, and he bled pretty much. The blood made the *Spaniard* believe he was more hurt than he really was, and that put him into some heat, for before he acted all in a perfect calm; but now resolving to go through with his work, he stooped and took the fellow's musquet whom he had knocked down, and was just going to shoot the man who had fired at him; when the rest of the *Spaniards*, being in the cave, came out, and calling to him not to shoot, they stepped in, secured the other two, and took their arms from them.

When they were thus disarmed, and found they had made all the *Spaniards* their enemies, as well as their own countrymen, they began to cool; and giving the *Spaniards* better words, would have had their arms again; but the *Spaniards*, considering the feud that was between them and the other two *Englishmen*, and that it would be the best method they could take to keep them from one another, told them they would do them no harm; and if they would live peaceably they would be very willing to assist and associate with them, as they did before; but that they could not think of giving them their arms again, while they appeared so resolved to do mischief with them to their own countrymen, and had even threatened them all to make them their servants.

The rogues were now more capable to hear reason than to act reason; but being refused their arms, they went raving away, and raging like madmen, threatening what they would do, though they had no fire-arms: but the *Spaniards* despising their threatening, told them they should take care how they offered any injury to their plantation or cattle; for if they did, they would shoot them, as they would do ravenous beasts, wherever they found them; and if they fell into their hands alive, they would certainly be hanged. However, this was far from cooling them; but away they went, swearing and raging like furies of hell. As soon as they were gone, came back the two men in passion and rage enough also, though of another kind; for, having been at their plantation, and finding it all demolished and destroyed, as above, it will easily be supposed they had provocation

vocation enough; they could scarce have room to tell their tale, the *Spaniards* were so eager to tell them theirs; and it was strange enough to find, that three men should thus bully nineteen, and receive no punishment at all.

The *Spaniards* indeed despised them, and especially having thus disarmed them, made light of their threatenings; but the two *Englishmen* resolved to have their remedy against them, what pains soever it cost to find them out.

But the *Spaniards* interposed here too, and told them, that they were already disarmed: they could not consent that they (the two) should pursue them with fire-arms, and perhaps kill them: but, said the grave *Spaniard*, who was their governor, we will endeavour to make them do you justice, if you will leave it to us, for, as there is no doubt but they will come to us again when their passion is over, being not able to subsist without our assistance, we promise you to make no peace with them, without having a full satisfaction for you; and upon this condition we hope you will promise to use no violence with them, other than in your defence.

The two *Englishmen* yielded to this very awkwardly, and with great reluctance; but the *Spaniards* protested, they did it only to keep them from bloodshed, and to make all easy at last; for, said they, we are not so many of us; here is room enough for us all, and it is great pity we should not be all good friends. At length they did consent, and waited for the issue of the thing, living for some days with the *Spaniards*; for their own habitation was destroyed.

In

In about five days time the three vagrants, tired with wandering, and almost starved with hunger, having chiefly lived on turtles eggs all that while, came back to the grove; and finding my *Spaniard*, who, as I have said, was the governor, and two more with him, walking by the side of the creek; they came up in a very submissive humble manner, and begged to be received again into the family. The *Spaniards* used them civilly, but told them, they had acted so unnaturally by their countrymen, and so very grossly by them (the *Spaniards*), that they could not come to any conclusion without consulting the two *Englishmen*, and the rest; but however they would go to them, and discourse about it, and they should know in half an hour. It may be guessed that they were very hard put to it; for it seems, as they were to wait this half-hour for an answer, they begged he would send them out some bread in the mean time; which he did, and sent them at the same time a large piece of goat's flesh, and a broiled parrot; which they eat very heartily, for they were hungry enough.

After half an hour's consultation they were called in, and a long debate had about them, their two countrymen charging them with the ruin of all their labour, and a design to murder them; all which they owned before, and therefore could not deny now; upon the whole, the *Spaniards* acted the moderators between them; and as they had obliged the two *Englishmen* not to hurt the three, while they were naked and unarmed, so they now obliged the three to go and rebuild their fellows two huts, one to be
of

of the same dimensions, and the other larger than they were before ; also to fence their ground again, where they had pulled up the fences, plant trees in the room of those pulled up, dig up the land again for planting corn, where they had spoiled it ; and, in a word, to restore every thing in the same state as they found it, as near as they could ; for entirely it could not be, the season for the corn, and the growth of the trees and hedges, not being possible to be recovered.

Well, they all submitted to this ; and as they had plenty of provisions given them all the while, they grew very orderly, and the whole society began to live pleasantly and agreeably together again ; only that these three fellows could never be persuaded to work ; I mean, not for themselves, except now and then a little, just as they pleased ; however, the *Spaniards* told them plainly, that if they would but live sociably and friendly together, and study in the whole the good of the plantation, they would be content to work for them, and let them walk about and be as idle as they pleased ; and thus having lived pretty well together for a month or two, the *Spaniards* gave them their arms again, and gave them liberty to go abroad with them as before.

It was not above a week after they had these arms, and went abroad, but the ungrateful creatures began to be as insolent and troublesome as before ; but however, an accident happened presently upon this, which endangered the safety of them all ; they were obliged to lay by all private resentments, and look to the preservation of their lives.

It

It happened one night, that the *Spaniard* governor, as I call him, that is to say, the *Spaniard* whose life I had saved, who was now the captain, or leader, or governor of the rest, found himself very uneasy in the night, and could by no means get any sleep: he was perfectly well in body, as he told me the story, only found his thoughts tumultuous; his mind ran upon men fighting, and killing one another, but was broad awake, and could not by any means get any sleep; in short, he lay a great while; but growing more and more uneasy, he resolved to rise: as they lay, being so many of them, upon goat-skins, laid thick upon such couches and pads as they made for themselves, and not in hammocks and ship-beds, as I did, who was but one, so they had little to do, when they were willing to rise, but to get up upon their feet, and perhaps put on a coat, such as it was, and their pumps, and they were ready for going any way that their thoughts guided them.

Being thus gotten up, he looked out; but, being dark, he could see little or nothing; and besides, the trees which I had planted, as in my former account is described, and which were now grown tall, intercepted his sight, so that he could only look up, and see that it was a clear star-light night; and, hearing no noise, he returned and laid him down again; but it was all one, he could not sleep, nor could he compose himself to any thing like rest, but his thoughts were to the last degree uneasy, and yet he knew not for what.

Having made some noise with rising and walking about, going out and coming in, another of them waked,

waked, and, calling, asked who it was that was up? The governor told him, how it had been with him. Say you so? says the other *Spaniard*; such things are not to be flighted, I assure you; there is certainly some mischief working, says he, near us; and presently he asked him, Where are the *Englishmen*? They are all in their huts, says he, safe enough. It seems, the *Spaniards* had kept possession of the main apartment, and had made a place, where the three *Englishmen*, since their last mutiny, always quartered by themselves, and could not come at the rest. Well, says the *Spaniard*, there is something in it, I am persuaded from my own experience; I am satisfied our spirits embodied have converse with, and receive intelligence from, the spirits unembodied, and inhabiting the invisible world; and this friendly notice is given for our advantage, if we know how to make use of it. Come, says he, let us go out and look abroad; and if we find nothing at all in it to justify our trouble, I'll tell you a story to the purpose, that shall convince you of the justice of my proposing it.

In a word, they went out to go to the top of the hill, where I used to go; but they, being strong, and in good company, nor alone, as I was, used none of my cautions to go up by the ladder, and then pulling it up after them, to go up a second stage to the top, but were going round through the grove unconcerned and unwary, when they were surprised with seeing a light as of fire, a very little way off from them, and hearing the voices of men, not of one, or two, but of a great number.

In

In all the discoveries I had made of the savages landing on the island, it was my constant care to prevent them making the least discovery of there being any inhabitant upon the place; and when by any necessity they came to know it, they felt it so effectually, that they that got away, were scarce able to give any account of it, for we disappeared as soon as possible, nor did ever any that had seen me, escape to tell any one else, except it were the three savages in our last encounter, who jumped into the boat, of whom I mentioned that I was afraid they should go home, and bring more help.

Whether it was the consequence of the escape of those men, that so great a number came now together; or whether they came ignorantly, and by accident, on their usual bloody errand, the *Spaniards* could not it seems understand: but whatever it was, it had been their business, either to have concealed themselves, and not have seen them at all; much less to have let the savages have seen, that there were any inhabitants in the place; but to have fallen upon them so effectually, as that not a man of them should have escaped, which could only have been by getting in between them and their boats; but this presence of mind was wanting to them, which was the ruin of their tranquillity, for a great while.

We need not doubt but that the governor, and the man with him, surpris'd with this fight, ran back immediately, and rais'd their fellows, giving them an account of the imminent danger they were all in; and they again as readily took the alarm, but it was impossible to persuade them to stay close within where
they

they were, but that they must all run out to see how things stood.

While it was dark indeed, they were well enough, and they had opportunity enough, for some hours, to view them by the light of three fires they had made at some distance from one another; what they were doing they knew not, and what to do themselves they knew not; for, first, the enemy were too many; and, secondly, they did not keep together, but were divided into several parties, and were on shore in several places.

The *Spaniards* were in no small consternation at this sight; and as they found that the fellows ran straggling all over the shore, they made no doubt, but, first or last, some of them would chop in upon their habitation, or upon some other place, where they would see the tokens of inhabitants; and they were in great perplexity also for fear of their flock of goats, which would have been little less than starving them, if they should have been destroyed; so the first thing they resolved upon, was to dispatch three men away before it was light, viz. two *Spaniards* and one *Englishman*, to drive all the goats away to the great valley where the cave was, and, if need were, to drive them into the very cave itself.

Could they have seen the savagès altogether in one body, and at a distance from their canoes, they resolved, if there had been an hundred of them, to have attacked them; but that could not be obtained, for there were some of them two miles off from the other, and, as it appeared afterwards, were of two different nations.

After

After having mused a great while on the course they should take, and beaten their brains in considering their present circumstances, they resolved at last, while it was dark, to send the old savage (*Friday's* father) out, as a spy, to learn, if possible, something concerning them, as what they came for, and what they intended to do, and the like; the old man readily undertook it, and, stripping himself quite naked, as most of the savages were, away he went: after he had been gone an hour or two, he brings word, that he had been among them undiscovered, that he found they were two parties, and of two several nations, who had war with one another and had had a great battle in their own country, and that both sides having had several prisoners taken in the fight, they were by mere chance landed in the same island, for the devouring their prisoners, and making merry; but their coming so by chance to the same place, had spoiled all their mirth; that they were in a great rage at one another, and were so near, that he believed they would fight again as soon as day-light began to appear; but he did not perceive that they had any notion of any body's being on the island but themselves. He had hardly made an end of telling the story, when they could perceive, by the unusual noise they made, that the two little armies were engaged in a bloody fight.

Friday's father used all the arguments he could to persuade our people to lie close, and not be seen; he told them, their safety consisted in it, and that they had nothing to do but to lie still, and the savages would kill one another to their hands, and the rest
would

would go away; and it was so to a tittle. But it was impossible to prevail, especially upon the *Englishmen*; their curiosity was so importunate upon their prudentials, that they must run out and see the battle: however, they used some caution, *viz.* they did not go openly just by their own dwelling, but went farther into the woods, and placed themselves to advantage, where they might securely see them manage the fight, and, as they thought, not to be seen by them; but it seems the savages did see them, as we shall find hereafter.

The battle was very fierce, and if I might believe the *Englishmen*, one of them said, he could perceive, that some of them were men of great bravery, of invincible spirits, and of great policy in guiding the fight. The battle, they said, held two hours, before they could guess which party would be beaten; but then that party which was nearest our people's habitation began to appear weakest, and after some time more, some of them began to fly; and this put our men again into a great consternation, lest any of those that fled should run into the grove, before their dwelling, for shelter, and thereby involuntarily discover the place; and that by consequence the pursuers should do the like in search for them. Upon this they resolved, that they would stand armed within the wall, and whoever came into the grove, they should fall out over the wall, and kill them; so that, if possible, not one should return to give an account of it; they ordered also, that it should be done with their swords, or by knocking them down

with the stock of the musquet, not by shooting them, for fear of raising an alarm by the noise.

As they expected, it fell out; three of the routed army fled for life, and crossing the creek, ran directly into the place, not in the least knowing whither they went, but running as into a thick wood for shelter; the scout they kept to look abroad gave notice of this within, with this addition, to our men's great satisfaction, *viz.* That the conquerors had not pursued them, or seen which way they were gone. Upon this the *Spaniard* governor, a man of humanity, would not suffer them to kill the three fugitives; but, sending three men out by the top of the hill, ordered them to go round, and come in behind them, surprise and take them prisoners, which was done; the residue of the conquered people fled to their canoes, and got off to sea; the victors retired, and made no pursuit, or very little; but, drawing themselves into a body together, gave two great screaming shouts, which they supposed were by way of triumph, and so the fight ended: and the same day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, they also marched to their canoes. And thus the *Spaniards* had their island again free to themselves, their fright was over, and they saw no savages in several years after.

After they were all gone, the *Spaniards* came out of their den; and, viewing the field of battle, they found about two-and-thirty dead men upon the spot; some were killed with great long arrows, several of which were found sticking in their bodies; but most of them were killed with their great wooden swords,
sixteen

sixteen or seventeen of which they found in the field of battle, and as many bows, with a great many arrows: these swords were great unwieldly things, and they must be very strong men that used them: most of those men that were killed with them had their heads mashed to pieces, as we may say, or, as we call it in *English*, their brains knocked out, and several of their arms and legs broken; so that it is evident they fight with inexpressible rage and fury; they found not one wounded man that was not stone dead; for either they stay by their enemy till they have quite killed them, or they carry all the wounded men, that are not quite dead, away with them.

This deliverance tamed our *Englishmen* for a great while: the fight had filled them with horror, and the consequence appeared terrible to the last degree, especially upon supposing that some time or other they should fall into the hands of those creatures, who would not only kill them as enemies, but kill them for food, as we kill our cattle. And they professed to me, that the thoughts of being eaten up like beef or mutton, though it was supposed it was not to be till they were dead, had something in it so horrible, that it nauseated their very stomachs, made them sick when they thought of it, and filled their minds with unusual terror, that they were not themselves for some weeks after.

This, as I said, tamed even the three *English* brutes I have been speaking of; and, for a great while after, they were very tractable, and went about the common business of the whole society well

F 2

enough;

enough; planted, sowed, reaped, and began to be all naturalized to the country; but some time after this, they fell all into such simple measures again as brought them into a great deal of trouble.

They had taken three prisoners, as I had observed; and these three being lusty stout young fellows, they made them servants, and taught them to work for them; and, as slaves, they did well enough; but they did not take their measures with them as I did by my man *Friday*, viz. to begin with them upon the principle of having saved their lives, and then instructed them in the rational principles of life, much less of religion, civilizing and reducing them by kind usage, and affectionate arguings; but, as they gave them their food every day, so they gave them their work too, and kept them fully employed in drudgery enough; but they failed in this by it, that they never had them to assist them and fight for them, as I had my man *Friday*, who was as true to me as the very flesh upon my bones.

But to come to the family part: Being all now good friends (for common danger, as I said above, had effectually reconciled them), they began to consider their general circumstances; and the first thing that came under their consideration was, whether, seeing the savages particularly haunted that side of the island, and that there were more remote and retired parts of it equally adapted to their way of living, and manifestly to their advantage, they should not rather remove their habitation, and plant in some more proper place for their safety, and especially for the security of their cattle and corn.

Upon

Upon this, after long debate, it was conceived, that they should not remove their habitation; because that some time or other they thought they might hear from their governor again, meaning me: and if I should send any one to seek them, I would be sure to direct them on that side, where, if they should find the place demolished, they would conclude the savages had killed us all, and we were gone, and so our supply would go away too.

But as to their corn and cattle, they agreed to remove them into the valley where my cave was, where the land was as proper to both, and where indeed there was land enough: however, upon second thoughts, they altered one part of that resolution too, and resolved only to remove part of their cattle thither, and plant part of their corn there; and so, if one part was destroyed, the other might be saved: and one piece of prudence they used, which it was very well they did; *viz.* That they never trusted these three savages, which they had taken prisoners, with knowing any thing of the plantation they had made in that valley, or of any cattle they had there; much less of the cave there, which they kept in case of necessity, as a safe retreat; and thither they carried also the two barrels of powder which I had left them at my coming away.

But, however, they resolved not to change their habitation; yet they agreed, that as I had carefully covered it first with a wall and fortification, and then with a grove of trees; so, seeing their safety consisted entirely in their being concealed, of which they were now fully convinced, they set to work to cover and conceal the place yet more effectually than

before : to this purpose, as I had planted trees (or rather thrust in stakes, which in time all grew to be trees) for some good distance before the entrance into my apartment, they went on in the same manner, and filled up the rest of that whole space of ground, from the trees I had set, quite down to the side of the creek, where, as I said, I landed my floats, and even into the very ouze where the tide flowed, not so much as leaving any place to land, or any sign that there had been any landing thereabout : these stakes also, being of a wood very forward to grow, as I had noted formerly, they took care to have generally very much larger and taller than those which I had planted, and placed them so very thick and close, that when they had been three or four years grown, there was no piercing with the eye any considerable way into the plantation : as for that part which I had planted, the trees were grown as thick as a man's thigh ; and among them they placed so many other short ones, and so thick, that, in a word, it stood like a palisado a quarter of a mile thick, and it was next to impossible to penetrate it, but with a little army, to cut it all down ; for a little dog could hardly get between the trees, they stood so close.

But this was not all ; for they did the same by all the ground to the right hand, and to the left, and round even to the top of the hill ; leaving no way, not so much as for themselves to come out, but by the ladder placed up to the side of the hill, and then lifted up, and placed again from the first stage up to the top ; which ladder, when it was taken down, nothing but what had wings or witchcraft to assist it, could come at them.

This

This was excellently well contrived: nor was it less than what they afterwards found occasion for; which served to convince me, that as human prudence has authority of Providence to justify it, so it has, doubtless, the direction of Providence to set it to work; and, would we listen carefully to the voice of it, I am fully persuaded we might prevent many of the disasters which our lives are now, by our own negligence, subjected to. But this by the way.

I return to the story: they lived two years after this in perfect retirement, and had no more visits from the savages; they had indeed an alarm given them one morning, which put them in a great consternation; for, some of the *Spaniards* being out early one morning on the west side, or rather end of the island, which, by the way, was that end where I never went, for fear of being discovered, they were surpris'd with seeing above twenty canoes of *Indians* just coming on shore.

They made the best of their way home, in hurry enough; and giving the alarm to their comrades, they kept close all that day and the next, going out only at night, to make observation: but they had the good luck to be mistaken; for wherever the savages went, they did not land at that time on the island, but pursued some other design.

And now they had another broil with the three *Englishmen*; one of which, a most turbulent fellow, being in a rage at one of the three slaves, which I mentioned they had taken, because the fellow had not done something right which he bid him do, and

seemed a little untractable in his shewing him, drew a hatchet out of a frog-belt, in which he bore it by his side, and fell upon him, the poor savage, not to correct him, but to kill him. One of the *Spaniards*, who was by, seeing him give the fellow a barbarous cut with the hatchet, which he aimed at his head, but struck into his shoulder, so that he thought he had cut the poor creature's arm off, ran to him, and intreating him not to murder the poor man, clapt in between him and the savage, to prevent the mischief.

The fellow, being enraged the more at this, struck at the *Spaniard* with his hatchet, and swore he would serve him as he intended to serve the savage; which the *Spaniard* perceiving, avoided the blow, and with a shovel, which he had in his hand (for they were working in the field about the corn-land,) knocked the brute down: another of the *Englishmen*, running at the same time to help his comrade, knocked the *Spaniard* down; and then two *Spaniards* more came to help their man, and a third *Englishman* fell upon them. They had none of them any fire-arms, or any other weapons but hatchets and other tools, except the third *Englishman*; he had one of my old rusty cutlasses, with which he made at the last *Spaniards*, and wounded them both: this fray set the whole family in an uproar, and more help coming in, they took the three *Englishmen* prisoners. The next question was, What should be done with them? They had been so often mutinous, and were so furious, so desperate, and so idle withal, that they knew not what course to take with them, for they
were

were mischievous to the highest degree, and valued not what hurt they did any man; so that, in short, it was not safe to live with them.

The *Spaniard* who was governor, told them in so many words, that if they had been his own countrymen, he would have hanged them all; for all laws, and all governors, were to preserve society; and those who were dangerous to the society ought to be expelled out of it; but as they were *Englishmen*, and that it was to the generous kindness of an *Englishman* that they all owed their preservation and deliverance, he would use them with all possible lenity, and would leave them to the judgment of the other two *Englishmen*, who were their countrymen.

One of the two honest *Englishmen* stood up, and said, they desired it might not be left to them: for, says he, I am sure we ought to sentence them to the gallows; and with that gives an account how *Will Atkins*, one of the three, had proposed to have all the five *Englishmen* join together, and murder all the *Spaniards*, when they were in their sleep.

When the *Spanish* governor heard this, he calls to *Will Atkins*: How, Seignior *Atkins*, says he, Will you murder us all? What have you to say to that? That hardened villain was so far from denying it, that he said it was true, and G—d d—mn him they would do it still before they had done with them. Well, but Seignior *Atkins*, said the *Spaniard*, What have we done to you that you will kill us? And what would you get by killing us? And what must we do to prevent your killing us? Must we kill you, or will you kill us? Why will you put us to the necessity

cessity of this, Seignior *Atkins*? says the *Spaniard* very calmly, and smiling.

Seignior *Atkins* was in such a rage at the *Spaniard's* making a jest of it, that, had he not been held by three men, and withal had no weapons with him, it was thought he would have attempted to have killed the *Spaniard* in the middle of all the company.

This hare-brained carriage obliged them to consider seriously what was to be done. The two *Englishmen* and the *Spaniard*, who saved the poor savage, were of the opinion, That they should hang one of the three for an example to the rest; and that particularly it should be he that had twice attempted to commit murder with his hatchet; and indeed there was some reason to believe he had done it, for the poor savage was in such a miserable condition with the wound he had received, that it was thought he could not live.

But the governor *Spaniard* still said; No, it was an *Englishman* that had saved all their lives, and he would never consent to put an *Englishman* to death, though he had murdered half of them; nay, he said, if he had been killed himself by an *Englishman*, and had time left to speak, it should be, that they should pardon him.

This was so positively insisted on by the governor *Spaniard*, that there was no gainsaying it; and, as merciful counsels are most apt to prevail, where they are so earnestly pressed, so they all came into it; but then it was to be considered, what should be done to keep them from the mischief they designed; for all agreed, governor and all, that means were to be used

used for preserving the society from danger: After a long debate it was agreed, first, That they should be disarmed, and not permitted to have either gun, or powder, or shot, or sword, or any weapon, and should be turned out of the society, and left to live where they would, and how they could, by themselves; but that none of the rest, either *Spaniards* or *English*, should converse with them, speak with them, or have any thing to do with them; that they should be forbid to come within a certain distance of the place where the rest dwelt; and that if they offered to commit any disorder, so as to spoil, burn, kill, or destroy any of the corn, plantings, buildings, fences, or cattle belonging to the society, that they should die without mercy, and would shoot them wherever they could find them.

The governor, a man of great humanity, musing upon the sentence, considered a little upon it; and, turning to the two honest *Englishmen*, said, Hold; you must reflect, that it will be long ere they can raise corn and cattle of their own, and they must not starve; we must therefore allow them provisions. So he caused to be added, That they should have a proportion of corn given them to last them eight months, and for seed to sow, by which time they might be supposed to raise some of their own; that they should have six milch-goats, four he-goats, and six kids given them, as well for present subsistence, as for a store; and that they should have tools given them for their work in the field; such as, six hatchets, an axe, a saw, and the like: But they should have none of these tools or provisions, unless they would swear solemnly

solemnly, that they would not hurt or injure any of the *Spaniards* with them, or of their fellow *Englishmen*.

Thus they dismissed them the society, and turned them out to shift for themselves. They went away fullen and refractory, as neither contented to go away, or to stay; but, as there was no remedy, they went, pretending to go and choose a place where they should settle themselves, to plant and live by themselves; and some provisions were given, but no weapons.

About four or five days after, they came again for some victuals, and gave the governor an account where they had pitched their tents, and marked themselves out an habitation or plantation; it was a very convenient place indeed, on the remotest part of the island, N. E. much about the place where I providentially landed in my first voyage, when I was driven out to sea, the Lord alone knows whither, in my foolish attempt to surround the island.

Here they built themselves two handsome huts, and contrived them in a manner like my first habitation, being close under the side of a hill, having some trees growing already to the three sides of it; so that by planting others, it would be very easily covered from the sight, unless narrowly searched for; they desired some dry goat skins for beds and covering, which were given them; and upon their giving their words that they would not disturb the rest, or injure any of their plantations, they gave them hatchets, and what other tools they could spare; some pease, barley, and rice, for sowing, and, in a word, any thing they wanted but arms and ammunition.

They

They lived in this separate condition about six months, and had got in their first harvest, though the quantity was but small, the parcel of land they had planted being but little; for indeed, having all their plantation to form, they had a great deal of work upon their hands; and when they came to make boards, and pots, and such things, they were quite out of their element, and could make nothing of it; and when the rainy season came on, for want of a cave in the earth, they could not keep their grain dry, and it was in great danger of spoiling: and this humbled them much; so they came and begged the *Spaniards* to help them, which they very readily did; and in four days worked a great hole in the side of the hill for them, big enough to secure their corn, and other things from the rain; but it was but a poor place at best, compared to mine; and especially as mine was then; for the *Spaniards* had greatly enlarged it, and made several new apartments in it.

About three quarters of a year after this separation, a new frolick took these rogues, which, together with the former villainy they had committed, brought mischief enough upon them, and had very near been the ruin of the whole colony: the three new associates began, it seems, to be weary of the laborious life they led, and that without hope of bettering their circumstances; and a whim took them, that they would make a voyage to the continent from whence the savages came, and would try if they could not seize upon some prisoners among the natives there and bring them home, so as to make them do the laborious part of the work for them.

The

The project was not so preposterous, if they had gone no farther; but they did nothing, and proposed nothing, but had either mischief in the design, or mischief in the event: and, if I may give my opinion, they seemed to be under a blast from Heaven; for if we will not allow a visible curse to pursue visible crimes, how shall we reconcile the events of things with divine justice? It was certainly an apparent vengeance on their crime of mutiny and piracy, that brought them to the state they were in; and, as they shewed not the least remorse for the crime, but added new villainies to it, such as, particularly, that piece of monstrous cruelty of wounding a poor slave, because he did not, or perhaps could not, understand to do what he was directed; and to wound him in such a manner, as, no question, made him a cripple all his life, and in a place where no surgeon or medicine could be had for his cure: and, what was still worse, the murderous intent; or, to do justice to the crime, the intentional murder, for such to be sure it was, as was afterwards the formed design they all laid, to murder the *Spaniards* in cold blood, and in their sleep.

But I leave observing, and return to the story: The three fellows came down to the *Spaniards* one morning, and, in very humble terms, desired to be admitted to speak with them: the *Spaniards* very readily heard what they had to say, which was this: that they were tired of living in the manner they did; that they were not handy enough to make the necessities they wanted; and that, having no help, they found they should be starved; but if the *Spaniards* would give them leave to take one of the canoes which
they

they came over in, and give them arms and ammunition, proportioned for their defence, they would go over to the main, and seek their fortune, and so deliver them from the trouble of supplying them with any other provisions.

The *Spaniards* were glad enough to be rid of them; but yet very honestly represented to them the certain destruction they were running into; told them, they had suffered such hardships upon that very spot, that they could, without any spirit of prophecy, tell them, that they would be starved or murdered; and bade them consider of it.

The men replied audaciously, they should be starved if they stayed here, for they could not work, and would not work; and they could but be starved abroad; and if they were murdered, there was an end of them, they had no wives or children to cry after them; and, in short, insisted importunately upon their demand, declaring that they would go, whether they would give them any arms or no.

The *Spaniards* told them, with great kindness, that if they were resolved to go, they should not go like naked men, and be in no condition to defend themselves; and that though they could ill spare their fire-arms, having not enough for themselves, yet they would let them have two musquets, a pistol, and a cutlass, and each man a hatchet, which they thought sufficient for them.

In a word, they accepted the offer; and having baked them bread enough to serve them a month, and given them as much goat's flesh as they could eat while it was sweet, and a great basket full of dried grapes, a pot full of fresh water, and a young kid
alive

alive to kill, they boldly set out in a canoe for a voyage over the sea, where it was at least forty miles broad.

The boat was indeed a large one, and would have very well carried 15 or 20 men; and therefore was rather too big for them to manage; but as they had a fair breeze and the flood-tide with them, they did well enough: they had made a mast of a long pole, and a sail of four large goat-skins dried, which they had sowed or laced together; and away they went merrily enough: the *Spaniards* called after them, *Bon Veajo*; and no man ever thought of seeing them any more.

The *Spaniards* would often say to one another, and the two honest *Englishmen* who remained behind, how quietly and comfortably they lived, now those three turbulent fellows were gone; as for their ever coming again, that was the remotest thing from their thoughts could be imagined; when, behold, after twenty two days absence, one of the *Englishmen* being abroad upon his planting-work, sees three strange men coming towards him at a distance, two of them with guns upon their shoulders.

Away runs the *Englishman*, as if he was bewitched, and became frightened and amazed, to the governor *Spaniard*, and tells him they were all undone, for there were strangers landed upon the island, he could not tell who: the *Spaniard* pausing a while, says to him, How do you mean, you cannot tell who? They are savages to be sure. No, no, says the *Englishman*, they are men in clothes, with arms: Nay then, says the *Spaniard*, why are you concerned? If they are not savages, they must be friends; for there is no
Christian

Christian nation upon earth, but will do us good rather than harm.

While they were debating thus, came the three *Englishmen*, and, standing without the wood which was new planted, hallooed to them; they presently knew their voices, and so all the wonder of that kind ceased. But now the admiration was turned upon another question, *viz.* What could be the matter, and what made them come back again?

It was not long before they brought the men in; and enquiring where they had been, and what they had been doing? They gave them a full account of their voyage in a few words, *viz.* That they reached the land in two days, or something less; but finding the people alarmed at their coming, and preparing with bows and arrows to fight them, they durst not go on shore, but sailed on to the northward six or seven hours, till they came to a great opening, by which they perceived that the land they saw from our island was not the main, but an island: that entering that opening of the sea, they saw another island on the right hand north, and several more west; and being resolved to land somewhere, they put over to one of the islands which lay west, and went boldly on shore; that they found the people were courteous and friendly to them, and they gave them several roots, and some dried fish, and appeared very sociable; and the women, as well as the men, were very forward to supply them with any thing they could get for them to eat, and brought it to them a great way upon their heads.

They continued here four days, and enquired, as well as they could of them by signs, what nations

were this way, and that way; and were told of several fierce and terrible people, that lived almost every way; who, as they made known by signs to them, used to eat men; but as for themselves, they said, that they never eat men or women, except only such as they took in the wars; and then they owned, that they made a great feast, and eat their prisoners.

The Englishmen enquired, when they had a feast of that kind; and they told them two moons ago, pointing to the moon, and then to two fingers; and that their great king had two hundred prisoners now, which he had taken in his war; and they were feeding them to make them fat for the next feast. The *Englishmen* seemed mighty desirous to see those prisoners; but the others mistaking them, thought they were desirous to have some of them to carry away for their own eating. So they beckoned to them, pointing to the setting of the sun, and then to the rising; which was to signify, that the next morning, at sun-rising, they would bring some for them; and accordingly, the next morning, they brought down five women, and eleven men; and gave them to the *Englishmen*, to carry with them on their voyage, just as we would bring so many cows and oxen down to a sea-port town, to victual a ship.

As brutish and barbarous as these fellows were at home, their stomachs turned at this sight, and they did not know what to do; to refuse the prisoners would have been the highest affront to the savage gentry that offered them; and what to do with them they knew not: however, upon some debate,

bate, they resolved to accept of them; and, in return, they gave the savages that brought them one of their hatchets, an old key, a knife, and six or seven of their bullets, which, though they did not understand, they seemed extremely pleased with: and then, tying the poor creatures hands behind them, they (the people) dragged the prisoners into the boat for our men.

The *Englishmen* were obliged to come away as soon as they had them, or else they that gave them this noble present, would certainly have expected that they should have gone to work with them, have killed two or three of them the next morning, and perhaps have invited the donors to dinner.

But, having taken their leave with all the respect and thanks that could well pass between people, where, on either side, they understood not one word they could say, they put off with their boat, and came back towards the first island, where, when they arrived, they set eight of their prisoners at liberty, there being too many of them for their occasion.

In their voyage they endeavoured to have some communication with their prisoners, but it was impossible to make them understand any thing; nothing they could say to them, or give them, or do for them, but was looked upon as going about to murder them: they first of all unbound them; but the poor creatures screamed at that, especially the women, as if they had just felt the knife at their throats; for they immediately concluded they were unbound on purpose to be killed.

If they gave them any thing to eat, it was the same thing ; then they concluded it was for fear they should sink in flesh, and so not be fat enough to kill : if they looked at one of them more particularly, the party presently concluded, it was to see whether he or she was fattest and fittest to kill first ; nay, after they had brought them quite over, and began to use them kindly, and treat them well, still they expected every day to make a dinner or supper for their new masters.

When the three wanderers had given this unaccountable history or journal of their voyage, the *Spaniard* asked them, where their new family was ? And being told that they had brought them on shore, and put them into one of their huts, and were come to beg some victuals for them ; they (the *Spaniards*) and the other two *Englishmen*, that is to say, the whole colony, resolved to go all down to the place, and see them, and did so, and *Friday's* father with them.

When they came into the hut, there they sat all bound : for when they had brought them on shore, they bound their hands, that they might not take the boat and make their escape ; there, I say, they sat, all of them stark-naked : first, there were three men, lusty, comely fellows, well shaped, strait and fair limbs, about 30 or 35 years of age, and five women, whereof two might be from 30 to 40, two more not above 24 or 25, and the fifth, a tall, comely maiden, about 16 or 17 : the women were well favoured agreeable persons, both in shape and features, only tawny ; and two of them, had they been perfect

fect white, would have passed for handsome women, even in *London* itself, having very pleasant agreeable countenances, and of a very modest behaviour, especially when they came afterwards to be clothed, and dressed, as they called it, though that dress was very indifferent, it must be confessed; of which hereafter.

The fight, you may be sure, was something uncouth to our *Spaniards*, who were (to give them a just character) men of the best behaviour, of the most calm, sedate tempers, and perfect good-humour that ever I met with; and, in particular, of the most modesty, as will presently appear: I say the fight was very uncouth, to see three naked men, and five naked women, all together bound, and in the most miserable circumstances that human nature could be supposed to be, *viz.* to be expecting every moment to be dragged out, and have their brains knocked out, and then to be eaten up like a calf that is killed for a dainty.

The first thing they did was to cause the old Indian, *Friday's* father, to go in, and see first if he knew any of them; and then, if he understood any of their speech: as soon as the old man came in, he looked seriously at them, but knew none of them; neither could any of them understand a word he said, or a sign he could make, except one of the women.

However, this was enough to answer the end, which was to satisfy them, that the men into whose hands they were fallen, were Christians; that they abhorred eating of men or women, and that they might be sure they would not be killed: as soon as

they were assured of this, they discovered such a joy, and by such awkward and several ways, as is hard to describe; for it seems they were of several nations.

The woman, who was their interpreter, was bid, in the next place, to ask them if they were willing to be servants, and to work for the men who had brought them away, to save their lives? At which they all fell a dancing; and presently one fell to taking up this, and another that, any thing that lay next, to carry on their shoulders, to intimate, that they were willing to work.

The governor, who found that the having women among them, would presently be attended with some inconveniency, and might occasion some strife, and perhaps blood, asked the three men, what they intended to do with these women, and how they intended to use them, whether as servants, or as women? One of the *Englishmen* answered very boldly and readily, that they would use them as both. To which the governor said, I am not going to restrain you from it; you are your own masters as to that: but this I think is but just, for avoiding disorders and quarrels among you, and I desire it of you for that reason only, *viz.* that you will all engage, that if any of you take any of these women, as a woman, or wife, he shall take but one; and that, having taken one, none else should touch her; for though we cannot marry any of you, yet it is but reasonable, that while you stay here, the woman any of you takes should be maintained by the man that takes her, and should be his wife; I mean says he, while he continues here; and that none else should have
any

any thing to do with her. All this appeared so just, that every one agreed to it without any difficulty.

Then the *Englishmen* asked the *Spaniards*, if they designed to take any of them? But every one answered, No: some of them said they had wives in *Spain*; and the others did not like women that were not Christians; and altogether declared, that they would not touch one of them; which was an instance of such virtue, as I have not met with in all my travels; on the other hand, to be short, the five *Englishmen* took them every one a wife; that is to say, a temporary wife; and so they set up a new form of living; for the *Spaniards* and *Friday's* father lived in my old habitation, which they had enlarged exceedingly within; the three servants, which they had taken in the late battle of the savages, lived with them; and these carried on the main part of the colony, supplying all the rest with food, and assisting them in any thing as they could, or as they found necessity required.

But the wonder of this story was, how five such refractory, ill-matched fellows should agree about these women, and that two of them should not pitch upon the same woman, especially seeing two or three of them were, without comparison, more agreeable than the others: but they took a good way enough to prevent quarrelling among themselves: for they set the five women by themselves in one of their huts, and they went all into the other hut, and drew lots among them who should choose first.

He that drew to choose first, went away by himself to the hut, where the poor naked creatures were,

and fetched out her he chose ; and it was worth observing, that he that chose first, took her that was reckoned the homeliest, and the oldest of the five, which made mirth enough among the rest ; and even the *Spaniards* laughed at it ; but the fellow considered better than any of them, that it was application and business that they were to expect assistance in, as much as any thing else ; and she proved the best wife in the parcel.

When the poor women saw themselves in a row thus, and fetched out one by one, the terrors of their condition returned upon them again, and they firmly believed, that they were now going to be devoured : accordingly, when the *English* sailor came in and fetched out one of them, the rest set up a most lamentable cry, and hung about her, and took their leave of her with such agonies and such affection, as would have grieved the hardest heart in the world ; nor was it possible for the *Englishmen* to satisfy them that they were not to be immediately murdered, till they fetched the old man, *Friday's* father, who instantly let them know, that the five men who had fetched them out one by one, had chosen them for their wives.

When they had done this, and the fright the women were in was a little over, the men went to work, and the *Spaniards* came and helped them ; and, in a few hours, they had built them every one a new hut or tent for their lodging apart ; for those they had already were crowded with their tools, household stuff, and provisions : The three wicked ones had pitched farthest off, and the two honest ones nearer, but both on the north shore of the island,

island, so that they continued separate as before : and thus my island was peopled in three places, and, as I might say, three towns were begun to be planted.

And here it is very well worth observing, that as it often happens in the world (what the wise ends of God's providences are in such a disposition of things, I cannot say) the two honest fellows had the two worst wives ; and the three reprobates, that were scarce worth hanging, that were fit for nothing, and neither seemed born to do themselves good, or any one else, had three clever, diligent, careful, and ingenious wives ; not that the two first were ill wives as to their temper or humour ; for all the five were most willing, quiet, passive, and subjected creatures, rather like slaves than wives ; but my meaning is, they were not alike capable, ingenious, or industrious, or alike cleanly and neat.

Another observation I must make, to the honour of a diligent application on the one hand, and to the disgrace of a slothful, negligent, idle temper on the other, that when I came to the place, and viewed the several improvements, planting, and management of the several little colonies ; the two men had so far outgone the three, that there was no comparison ; they had indeed both of them as much ground laid out for corn as they wanted ; and the reason was, because, according to my rule, nature dictated, that it was to no purpose to sow more corn than they wanted ; but the difference of the cultivation, of the planting, of the fences, and indeed every thing else, was easy to be seen at first view.

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The two men had innumerable young trees planted about their huts, that when you came to the place nothing was to be seen but a wood; and though they had their plantation twice demolished, once by their own countrymen, and once by the enemy, as shall be shewn in its place; yet they had restored all again, and every thing was flourishing and thriving about them: they had grapes planted in order, and managed like a vineyard, though they had themselves never seen any thing of that kind: and by their good ordering their vines, their grapes were as good again as any of the others. They had also formed themselves a retreat in the thickest part of the woods, where, though there was not a natural cave, as I had found, yet they made one with incessant labour of their hands, and where, when the mischief which followed happened, they secured their wives and children, so as they could never be found; they having, by sticking innumerable stakes and poles of the wood, which, as I said, grew so easily, made a grove impassable, except in one place, where they climbed up to get over the outside part, and then went in by ways of their own leaving.

As to the three reprobates, as I justly call them, though they were much civilized by their new settlement, compared to what they were before, and were not so quarrelsome, having not the same opportunity, yet one of the certain companions of a profligate mind never left them, and that was their idleness: It is true, they planted corn, and made fences; but Solomon's words were never better verified than in them: "I went by the vineyard of the slothful, " and it was overgrown with thorns;" for when the
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the *Spaniards* came to view their crop, they could not see it in some places for weeds; the hedge had several gaps in it, where the wild goats had gotten in, and eaten up the corn; perhaps here and there a dead bush was crammed in, to stop them out for the present, but it was only shutting the stable door after the steed was stolen; whereas, when they looked on the colony of the other two, there was the very face of industry and success upon all they did; there was not a weed to be seen in all their corn, or a gap in any of their hedges; and they, on the other hand, verified Solomon's words in another place: "The diligent hand maketh rich;" for every thing grew and thrived, and they had plenty within and without; they had more tame cattle than the others, more utensils and necessaries within doors, and yet more pleasure and diversion too.

It is true, the wives of the three were very handy and cleanly within doors; and having learned the *English* ways of dressing and cooking from one of the other *Englishmen*, who, as I said, was a cook's mate on board the ship, they dressed their husbands' victuals very nicely; whereas the other could not be brought to understand it; but then the husband, who, as I said, had been cook's mate, did it himself; but, as for the husbands of the three wives, they loitered about, fetched turtles eggs, and caught fish and birds: in a word, any thing but labour; and they fared accordingly. The diligent lived well and comfortably; and the slothful lived hard and beggarly; and so I believe, generally speaking, it is all over the world.

But

But now I come to a scene different from all that had happened before, either to them or me ; and the origin of the story was this :

Early one morning there came on shore five or six canoes of *Indians*, or savages, call them which you please ; and there is no room to doubt that they came upon the old errand of feeding upon their slaves ; but that part was now so familiar to the *Spaniards*, and to our men too, that they did not concern themselves about it, as I did ; but, having been made sensible by their experience, that their only business was to lie concealed, and that, if they were not seen by any of the savages, they would go off again quietly, when their business was done, having as yet not the least notion of there being any inhabitants in the island ; I say, having been made sensible of this, they had nothing to do but to give notice to all the three plantations to keep within doors, and not to shew themselves ; only placing a scout in a proper place, to give notice when the boats went off to sea again.

This was, without doubt, very right ; but a disaster spoiled all these measures, and made it known among the savages, that there were inhabitants there ; which was, in the end, the desolation of almost the whole colony. After the canoes with the savages were gone off, the *Spaniards* peeped abroad again, and some of them had the curiosity to go to the place where they had been, to see what they had been doing. Here, to their great surprise, they found three savages left behind, and lying fast asleep upon the ground ; it was supposed they had either been so gorged with their inhuman feast, that,
like

like beasts, they were asleep, and would not stir when the others went, or they were wandered into the woods, and did not come back in time to be taken in.

The *Spaniards* were greatly surpris'd at this fight, and perfectly at a loss what to do; the *Spaniard* governor, as it happened, was with them, and his advice was ask'd; but he profess'd he knew not what to do; as for slaves, they had enough already; and as to killing them, they were none of them inclined to that; the *Spaniard* governor told me they could not think of shedding innocent blood; for as to them, the poor creatures had done no wrong, invaded none of their property; and they thought they had no just quarrel against them to take away their lives.

And here I must, in justice to these *Spaniards*, observe, that let all the accounts of *Spanish* cruelty in *Mexico* and *Peru* be what they will, I never met with seventeen men, of any nation whatsoever, in any foreign country, who were so universally modest, temperate, virtuous, so very good-humoured, and so courteous, as these *Spaniards*; and, as to cruelty, they had nothing of it in their very nature; no inhumanity, no barbarity, no outrageous passions, and yet all of them men of great courage and spirit.

Their temper and calmness had appeared in their bearing the insufferable usage of the three *Englishmen*; and their justice and humanity appeared now in the case of the savages, as above: after some consultation, they resolv'd upon this, that they would lie still awhile longer, till, if possible, these three men might be gone; but then the governor *Spaniard*

niard recollected, that the three savages had no boat ; and that, if they were left to rove about the island, they would certainly discover that there were inhabitants in it, and so they should be undone that way.

Upon this they went back again, and there lay the fellows fast asleep still ; so they resolved to awaken them, and take them prisoners ; and they did so : the poor fellows were strangely frightened when they were seized upon and bound, and afraid, like the women, that they should be murdered and eaten ; for, it seems, those people think all the world do as they do, eating men's flesh ; but they were soon made easy as to that ; and away they carried them.

It was very happy for them, that they did not carry them home to their castle ; I mean to my palace under the hill ; but they carried them first to the bower, where was the chief of their country work ; such as the keeping the goats, the planting the corn, &c. and afterwards they carried them to the habitation of the two *Englishmen*.

Here they were set to work, though it was not much they had for them to do : and whether it was by negligence in guarding them, or that they thought the fellows could not mend themselves, I know not, but one of them ran away ; and, taking into the woods, they could never hear of him more.

They had good reason to believe he got home again soon after in some other boats or canoes of savages, who came on shore three or four weeks afterwards, and who, carrying on their revels as usual, went off again in two days time : this thought terrified them exceedingly ; for they concluded, and that

that not without good cause indeed, that if this fellow got safe home among his comrades, he would certainly give them an account that there were people in the island, as also how weak and few they were; for this savage, as I observed before, had never been told, as it was very happy he had not, how many they were, or where they lived, nor had he ever seen or heard the fire of any of their guns, much less had they shewn him any other of their retired places, such as the cave in the valley, or the new retreat which the two *Englishmen* had made, and the like.

The first testimony they had, that this fellow had given intelligence of them was, that about two months after this, six canoes of savages, with about seven or eight, or ten men in a canoe, came rowing along the north-side of the island, where they never used to come before, and landed about an hour after sun-rise, at a convenient place, about a mile from the habitation of the two *Englishmen*, where this escaped man had been kept: as the *Spaniard* governor said, had they been all there, the damage would not have been so much, for not a man of them would have escaped: but the case differed now very much; for two men to fifty were too much odds: the two men had the happiness to discover them about a league off, so that it was above an hour before they landed; and as they landed about a mile from their huts, it was some time before they could come at them. Now having great reason to believe that they were betrayed, the first thing they did was to bind the slaves which were left, and cause two of the three men, whom they brought with the women, who,

who, it seems, proved very faithful to them, to lead them with their two wives, and whatever they could carry away with them, to their retired place in the woods, which I have spoken of above, and there to bind the two fellows hand and foot till they heard farther.

In the next place, seeing the savages were all come on shore, and that they bent their course directly that way, they opened the fences where their milch-goats were kept, and drove them all out, leaving their goats to straggle into the wood, whither they pleased, that the savages might think they were all bred wild; but the rogue who came with them was too cunning for that, and gave them an account of it all; for they went directly to the place.

When the poor frightened men had secured their wives and goods, they sent the other slave they had of the three, who came with the women, and who was at their place by accident, away to the *Spaniards* with all speed, to give them the alarm, and desire speedy help; and in the mean time they took their arms, and what ammunition they had, and retreated towards the place in the wood where their wives were sent, keeping at a distance; yet so that they might see, if possible, which way the savages took.

They had not gone far, but that, from a rising ground, they could see the little army of their enemies come on directly to their habitation, and in a moment more could see all their huts and household-stuff flaming up together, to their great grief and mortification; for they had a very great loss, and to them irretrievable, at least for some time. They kept



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kept their station for awhile, till they found the savages, like wild beasts, spread themselves all over the place, rummaging every way, and every place they could think of, in search for prey ; and, in particular, for the people, of whom it plainly appeared they had intelligence.

The two Englishmen seeing this, thinking themselves not secure where they stood, as it was likely some of the wild people might come that way, so they might come too many together, thought it proper to make another retreat about half a mile farther, believing, as it afterwards happened, that the farther they strolled, the fewer would be together.

The next halt was at the entrance into a very thick grown part of the woods, and where an old trunk of a tree stood, which was hollow, and vastly large ; and in this tree they both took their standing, resolving to see what might offer.

They had not stood there long, but two of the savages appeared running directly that way, as if they had already notice where they stood, and were coming up to attack them ; and a little way farther they espied three more coming after them, and five more beyond them, all coming the same way ; besides which, they saw seven or eight more at a distance, running another way ; for, in a word, they ran every way, like sportsmen beating for their game.

The poor men were now in great perplexity, whether they should stand, and keep their posture, or fly ; but after a very short debate with themselves, they considered, that if the savages ranged the country thus, before help came, they might, perhaps,

find out their retreat in the woods, and then all would be lost ; so they resolved to stand them there ; and if there were too many to deal with, then they would get to the top of the tree, from whence they doubted not to defend themselves, fire excepted, as long as their ammunition lasted, though all the savages that were landed, which were near fifty, were to attack them.

Having resolved upon this, they next considered whether they should fire at the two first, or wait for the three, and so take the middle party ; by which the two and the five that followed would be separated ; at length they resolved to let the two first pass by, unless they should spy them in the tree, and come to attack them. The two first savages also confirmed them in this resolution, by turning a little from them towards another part of the wood ; but the three, and the five after them, came forwards directly to the tree, as if they had known the Englishmen were there.

Seeing them come so straight towards them, they resolved to take them in a line as they came ; and as they resolved to fire but one at a time, perhaps the first shot might hit them all three ; to which purpose, the man who was to fire, put three or four bullets into his piece, and having a fair loop-hole, as it were, from a broken hole in the tree, he took a sure aim, without being seen, waiting till they were within about thirty yards of the tree, so that he could not miss.

While they were thus waiting, and the savages came on, they plainly saw, that one of the three was the run-away savage that had escaped from them,

them, and they both knew him distinctly, and resolved, that, if possible, he should not escape, though they should both fire ; so the other stood ready with his piece, that if he did not drop at the first shot, he should be sure to have a second.

But the first was too good a marksman to miss his aim ; for, as the savages kept near one another, a little behind in a line, in a word, he fired, and hit two of them directly : the foremost was killed outright, being shot in the head ; the second, which was the run-away Indian, was shot through the body, and fell, but was not quite dead ; and the third had a little scratch in the shoulder, perhaps by the same ball that went through the body of the second ; and being dreadfully frightened, though not much hurt, sat down upon the ground, screaming and yelling in a hideous manner.

The five that were behind, more frightened with the noise than sensible of their danger, stood still at first ; for the woods made the sound a thousand times bigger than it really was ; the echoes rattling from one side to another, and the fowls rising from all parts, screaming and making, every sort, a several kind of noise, according to their kind, just as it was when I fired the first gun that, perhaps, was ever shot off in that place since it was an island.

However, all being silent again, and they not knowing what the matter was, came on unconcerned, till they came to that place where their companions lay, in a condition miserable enough ; and here the poor ignorant creatures, not sensible that they were within reach of the same mischief, stood all of a huddle over the wounded man, talking, and, as may

be supposed, enquiring of him how he came to be hurt; and who, 'tis very rational to believe, told them that a flash of fire first, and immediately after that, thunder from their gods, had killed those two, and wounded him: This, I say, is rational; for nothing is more certain than that, as they saw no man near them, so they had never heard a gun in all their lives, or so much as heard of a gun; neither knew they any thing of killing or wounding at a distance, with fire and bullets; if they had, one might reasonably believe, that they would not have stood so unconcerned, in viewing the fate of their fellows, without some apprehension of their own.

Our two men, though, as they confessed to me, it grieved them to be obliged to kill so many poor creatures, who at the same time had no notion of their danger; yet, having them all thus in their power, and the first having loaded his piece again, resolved to let fly both together among them; and singling out by agreement which to aim at, they shot together, and killed, or very much wounded, four of them; the fifth, frightened even to death, though not hurt, fell with the rest; so that our men, seeing them all fall together, thought they had killed them all.

The belief that the savages were all killed, made our two men come boldly out from the tree before they had charged their guns again, which was a wrong step; and they were under some surprise, when they came to the place, and found no less than four of the men alive, and of them, two very little hurt, and one not at all: this obliged them to fall upon them with the stocks of their musquets; and first,

first, they made sure of the run-away savage, that had been the cause of all the mischief; and of another that was hurt in his knee, and put them out of their pain; then the man that was not hurt at all came and kneeled down to them, with his two hands held up, and made piteous moan to them by gestures and signs, for his life; but could not say one word to them that they could understand.

However, they signified to him to sit down at the foot of a tree thereby; and one of the *Englishmen*, with a piece of rope-twine, which he had by great chance in his pocket, tied his feet fast together, and his hands behind him, and there they left him; and, with what speed they could, made after the other two which were gone before, fearing they, or any more of them, should find the way to their covered place in the woods, where their wives, and the few goods they had left lay: they came once in sight of the two men, but it was at a great distance; however, they had the satisfaction to see them cross over a valley, towards the sea, the quite contrary way from that which led to their retreat, which they were afraid of; and, being satisfied with that, they went back to the tree where they left their prisoner, who as they supposed, was delivered by his comrades; for he was gone, and the two pieces of rope-yarn, with which they had bound him, lay just at the foot of the tree.

They were now in as great a concern as before, not knowing what course to take, or how near the enemy might be, or in what numbers; so they resolved to go away to the place where their wives were, to see if all was well there, and to make them

easy, who were in fright enough to be sure ; for though the savages were their own country folks, yet they were most terribly afraid of them, and perhaps the more, for the knowledge they had of them.

When they came thither, they found the savages had been in the wood, and very near the place, but had not found it ; for indeed, it was inaccessible, by the trees standing so thick, as before, unless the persons seeking it had been directed by those that knew it, which these were not ; they found, therefore, every thing very safe, only the women in a terrible fright ; while they were here, they had the comfort of seven of the *Spaniards* coming to their assistance ; the other ten, with their servants, and old *Friday*, I mean *Friday's* father, were gone in a body to defend their bower, and the corn and cattle that were kept there, in case the savages should have roved over to that side of the country ; but they did not spread so far. With the seven *Spaniards* came one of the savages, who, as I said, were their prisoners formerly, and with them also came the savage whom the *Englishmen* had left bound hand and foot at the tree ; for it seems they came that way, saw the slaughter of the seven men, and unbound the eighth, and brought him along with them, where, however, they were obliged to bind him again, as they had done the two others, who were left when the third ran away.

The prisoners began now to be a burden to them ; and they were so afraid of their escaping, that they thought they were under an absolute necessity to kill them for their own preservation : however, the *Spaniard* governor would not consent to it ; but ordered,

dered, that they should be sent out of the way to my old cave in the valley, and be kept there, with two *Spaniards* to guard them, and give them food: which was done; and they were bound there hand and foot for that night.

When the *Spaniards* came, the two *Englishmen* were so encouraged, that they could not satisfy themselves to stay any longer there; but taking five of the *Spaniards*, and themselves, with four muskets and a pistol among them, and two stout quarter staves, away they went in quest of the savages; and first, they came to the tree where the men lay that had been killed; but it was easy to see, that some more of the savages had been there; for they attempted to carry their dead men away, and had dragged two of them a good way, but had given it over; from thence they advanced to the first rising ground, where they had stood and seen their camp destroyed, and where they had the mortification still to see some of the smoke; but neither could they here see any of the savages: they then resolved, though with all possible caution, to go forward towards their ruined plantation: but a little before they came thither, coming in sight of the sea shore, they saw plainly the savages all embarking again in their canoes, in order to be gone.

They seemed sorry at first that there was no way to come at them, to give them a parting blow; but upon the whole, were very well satisfied to be rid of them.

The poor *Englishmen* being now twice ruined, and all their improvements destroyed, the rest all agreed

to come and help them to rebuild, and to assist them with needful supplies. Their three countrymen, who were not yet noted for having the least inclination to do any thing good, yet, as soon as they heard of it (for they, living remote, knew nothing till all was over) came and offered their help and assistance, and did very friendly work for several days, to restore their habitations, and make necessaries for them; and thus, in a little time, they were set upon their legs again.

About two days after this, they had the farther satisfaction of seeing three of the savages canoes come driving on shore, and, at some distance from them, with two drowned men; by which they had reason to believe, that they had met with a storm at sea, and had over-set some of them; for it blew very hard the night after they went off.

However, as some might miscarry, so on the other hand, enough of them escaped to inform the rest, as well of what they had done, as of what happened to them; and to whet them on to another enterprise of the same nature, which they, it seems, resolved to attempt, with sufficient force to carry all before them; for, except what the first man had told them of inhabitants, they could say little to it of their own knowledge; for they never saw one man, and the fellow being killed that had affirmed it, they had no other witness to confirm it to them.

It was five or six months after this, before they heard any more of the savages, in which time our men were in hopes they had not forgot their former bad luck, or had given over the hopes of better; when, on a sudden, they were invaded with a most formi-

formidable fleet, of no less than twenty-eight canoes, full of savages, armed with bows and arrows, great clubs, wooden swords, and such like engines of war; and they brought such numbers with them, that, in short, it put all our people into the utmost consternation.

As they came on shore in the evening, and at the easternmost side of the island, our men had that night to consult and consider what to do; and, in the first place, knowing that their being entirely concealed was their only safety before, and would much more be so now, while the number of their enemies was so great, they therefore resolved, first of all, to take down the huts which were built for the two *Englishmen*, and drive away their goats to the old cave; because they supposed the savages would go directly thither, as soon as it was day, to play the old game over again, though they did not now land within two leagues of it.

In the next place, they drove away all the flock of goats they had at the old bower, as I called it, which belonged to the *Spaniards*; and, in short, left as little appearance of inhabitants any where as possible; and the next morning early they posted themselves with all their force, at the plantation of the two men, waiting for their coming. As they guessed, so it happened; these new invaders, leaving their canoes at the east end of the island, came ranging along the shore, directly towards the place, to the number of two hundred and fifty, as near as our men could judge. Our army was but small indeed; but, that which was worse, they had not arms for all their number

number neither : The whole account, it seems, stood thus : First, as to men :

17 *Spaniards*.

5 *Englishmen*.

1 Old *Friday*, or *Friday's* father.

3 Slaves, taken with the women, who proved very faithful.

3 Other slaves who lived with the *Spaniards*.

29

To arm these they had :

11 Musquets.

5 Pistols.

3 Fowling pieces.

5 Musquets, or fowling pieces, which were taken by me from the mutinous seamen whom I reduced.

2 Swords.

3 Old halberts.

29

To their slaves they did not give either musquet or fusil, but they had every one an halbert, or a long staff, like a quarter staff, with a great spike of iron fastened into each end of it, and by his side a hatchet ; also every one of our men had hatchets. Two of the women could not be prevailed upon, but they would come into the fight ; and they had bows and arrows, which the *Spaniards* had taken from the savages, when the first action happened, which I have spoken

spoken of, where the *Indians* fought with one another, and the women had hatchets too.

The *Spaniard* governor, whom I have described so often, commanded the whole; and *William Atkins*, who, though a dreadful fellow for wickedness, was a most daring bold fellow, commanded under him. The savages came forward like lions, and our men, which was the worst of their fate, had no advantage in their situation; only that *Will Atkins*, who now proved a most useful fellow, with six men, was planted just behind a small thicket of bushes, as an advanced guard, with orders to let the first of them pass by, and then fire into the middle of them; and, as soon as he had fired, to make his retreat, as nimbly as he could, round a part of the wood, and so come in behind the *Spaniards* where they stood, having a thicket of trees all before them.

When the savages came on, they ran straggling about every way in heaps, out of all manner of order; and *Will Atkins* let about fifty of them pass by him; then, seeing the rest come in a very thick throng, he orders three of his men to fire, having loaded their musquets with six or seven bullets a-piece, about as big as large pistol bullets. How many they killed or wounded, they knew not; but the consternation and surprise was inexpressible among the savages, who were frightened to the last degree, to hear such a dreadful noise, and see their men killed, and others hurt, but see nobody that did it; when in the middle of their fright, *William Atkins*, and his other three, let fly again among the thickest of them; and in less than a minute, the first three, being loaded again, gave them a third volley.

Had

Had *William Atkins* and his men retired immediately, as soon as they had fired, as they were ordered to do ; or had the rest of the body been at hand, to have poured in their shot continually, the savages had been effectually routed ; for the terror that was among them came principally from this ; *viz.* That they were killed by the Gods with thunder and lightning, and could see nobody that hurt them ; but *William Atkins*, staying to load again, discovered the cheat ; some of the savages, who were at a distance, spying them, came upon them behind ; and though *Atkins* and his men fired at them also, two or three times, and killed above twenty, retiring as fast as they could, yet they wounded *Atkins* himself, and killed one of his fellow *Englishmen* with their arrows, as they did afterwards one *Spaniard*, and one of the *Indian* slaves who came with the women ; this slave was a most gallant fellow, and fought most desperately, killing five of them with his own hand, having no weapon but one of the armed slaves, and an hatchet.

Our men being thus hard laid at, *Atkins* wounded, and two other men killed, retreated to a rising ground in the wood ; and the *Spaniards*, after firing three vollies upon them, retreated also ; for their number was so great, and they were so desperate, that though above fifty of them were killed, and more than so many wounded, yet they came on in the teeth of our men, fearless of danger, and shot their arrows like a cloud ; and it was observed, that their wounded men, who were not quite disabled, were made outrageous by their wounds, and fought like madmen.

When

When our men retreated, they left the *Spaniard* and the *Englishman*, that were killed, behind them ; and the savages, when they came up to them, killed them over again in a wretched manner, breaking their arms, legs, and heads, with their clubs, and wooden swords, like true savages : But, finding our men were gone, they did not seem inclined to pursue them, but drew themselves up in a kind of a ring, which is, it seems, their custom ; and shouted twice, in token of their victory ; after which, they had the mortification to see several of their wounded men fall, dying with the mere loss of blood.

The *Spaniard* governor having drawn his little body up together, upon a rising ground, *Atkins*, though he was wounded, would have had him marched, and charged them again all together at once ; but the *Spaniard* replied, *Seignior Atkins*, you see how their wounded men fight ; let them alone till morning ; all these wounded men will be stiff and sore with their wounds, and faint with the loss of blood ; and so we shall have the fewer to engage.

The advice was good ; but *Will Atkins* replied merrily, That's true, *Seignior*, and so shall I too ; and that's the reason I would go on, while I am warm. Well, *Seignior Atkins*, says the *Spaniard*, you have behaved gallantly, and done your part ; we will fight for you, if you cannot come on ; but I think it best to stay till morning : so they waited.

But as it was a clear moon-light night, and they found the savages in great disorder about their dead and wounded men, and a great hurry and noise among them where they lay, they afterwards resolved to fall upon them in the night, especially if they
could

could come to give them but one volley before they were discovered. This they had a fair opportunity to do; for one of the two *Englishmen*, in whose quarter it was where the fight began, led them round between the woods and the sea-side, westward, and turning short south, they came so near where the thickest of them lay, that before they were seen or heard, eight of them fired in among them, and did dreadful execution upon them; in half a minute more eight others fired after them, pouring in their small shot in such a quantity, that abundance were killed and wounded; and all this while they were not able to see who hurt them, or which way to fly.

The *Spaniards* charged again, with the utmost expedition, and then divided themselves into three bodies, and resolved to fall in among them all together: they had in each body eight persons; that is to say, twenty-four, whereof were twenty-two men, and the two women, who, by the way, fought desperately.

They divided the fire-arms equally in each party, and so of the halberts and staves. They would have had the women keep back; but they said, they were resolved to die with their husbands. Having thus formed their little army, they marched out from among the trees, and came up to the teeth of the enemy, shouting and hallooing as loud as they could; the savages stood all together, but were in the utmost confusion, hearing the noise of our men shouting from three quarters together; they would have fought if they had seen us; and, as soon as we came near enough to be seen, some arrows were
shot,

shot, and poor old *Friday* was wounded, though not dangerously. But our men gave them no time; but, running up to them, fired among them three ways, and then fell in with the but-ends of their musquets, their swords, armed staves, and hatchets; and laid about them so well, that, in a word, they set up a dismal screaming and howling, flying to save their lives which way soever they could.

Our men were tired with the execution; and killed, or mortally wounded, in the two fights, about 180 of them; the rest, being frightened out of their wits, scoured through the woods, and over the hills, with all the speed that fear and nimble feet could help them to do; and as we did not trouble ourselves much to pursue them, they got all together to the sea-side, where they landed, and where their canoes lay. But their disaster was not at an end yet; for it blew a terrible storm of wind that evening from the sea-ward; so that it was impossible for them to put off; nay, the storm continuing all night, when the tide came up, their canoes were most of them driven by the surge of the sea so high upon the shore, that it required infinite toil to get them off; and some of them were even dashed to pieces against the beach, or against one another.

Our men, though glad of their victory, yet got little rest that night; but having refreshed themselves as well as they could, they resolved to march to that part of the island where the savages were fled, and see what posture they were in. This necessarily led them over the place where the fight had been, and where they found several of the poor creatures not quite dead, and yet past recovering life; a sight disagreeable

agreeable enough to generous minds; for a truly great man, though obliged by the law of battle to destroy his enemy, takes no delight in his misery.

However, there was no need to give any order in this case; for their own savages, who were their servants, dispatched those poor creatures with their hatchets.

At length they came in view of the place where the more miserable remains of the savages' army lay, where there appeared about 100 still; their posture was generally sitting upon the ground, with their knees up towards their mouth, and the head put between the hands, leaning down upon the knees.

When our men came within two musquet shot of them, the *Spaniard* governor ordered two musquets to be fired without ball, to alarm them; this he did, that by their countenance he might know what to expect, *viz.* Whether they were still in heart to fight, or were so heartily beaten, as to be dispirited and discouraged, and so he might manage accordingly.

This stratagem took; for, as soon as the savages heard the first gun, and saw the flash of the second, they started up upon their feet in the greatest consternation imaginable; and, as our men advanced swiftly towards them, they all ran screaming and yawling away, with a kind of an howling noise, which our men did not understand, and had never heard before; and thus they ran up the hills into the country.

At first, our men had much rather the weather had been calm, and they had all gone away to sea; but they did not then consider, that this might probably have been the occasion of their coming again in such
multi-



Drawn by Stothard

Engraved by Medland

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multitudes as not to be resisted; or, at least, to come so many and so often, as would quite desolate the island, and starve them: *Will Atkins* therefore, who, notwithstanding his wound, kept always with them, proved the best counsellor in this case: his advice was, to take the advantage that offered, and clap in between them and their boats, and so deprive them of the capacity of ever returning any more to plague the island.

They consulted long about this, and some were against it, for fear of making the wretches fly into the woods, and live there desperate; and so they should have them to hunt like wild beasts, be afraid to stir about their business, and have their plantation continually rifled, all their tame goats destroyed, and, in short, be reduced to a life of continual distress.

Will Atkins told them, they had better have to do with 100 men, than with 100 nations; that as they must destroy their boats, so they must destroy the men, or be all of them destroyed themselves. In a word, he shewed them the necessity of it so plainly, that they all came into it; so they went to work immediately with the boats, and, getting some dry wood together from a dead tree, they tried to set some of them on fire; but they were so wet, that they would scarce burn. However, the fire so burned the upper part, that it soon made them unfit for swimming in the sea as boats. When the *Indians* saw what they were about, some of them came running out of the woods; and coming as near as they could to our men, kneeled down and cried, *Oa, Oa, Wa-*

ramokoa, and some other words of their language, which none of the others understood any thing of; but as they made pitiful gestures, and strange noises, it was easy to understand they begged to have their boats spared, and that they would be gone, and never return thither again.

But our men were now satisfied, that they had no way to preserve themselves, or to save their colony, but effectually to prevent any of these people from ever going home again; depending upon this, that if ever so much as one of them got back into their country to tell the story, the colony was undone; so that, letting them know that they should not have any mercy, they fell to work with their canoes, and destroyed them every one that the storm had not destroyed before; at the sight of which, the savages raised a hideous cry in the woods, which our people heard plain enough; after which they ran about the island like distracted men; so that, in a word, our men did not really know at first what to do with them.

Nor did the *Spaniards*, with all their prudence, consider that while they made those people thus desperate, they ought to have kept good guard at the same time upon their plantations; for though it is true they had driven away their cattle, and the *Indians* did not find their main retreat, I mean my old castle at the hill, nor the cave in the valley; yet they found out my plantation at the bower, and pulled it all to pieces, and all the fences and planting about it; trod all the corn under foot; tore up the vines and grapes, being just then almost ripe; and did our men an inestimable damage, though,
to

to themselves, not one farthing's worth of service.

Though our men were able to fight them upon all occasions, yet they were in no condition to pursue them, or hunt them up and down; for as they were two nimble of foot for our men when they found them single, so our men durst not go about single, for fear of being furrounded with their numbers; the best was, they had no weapons; for though they had bows, they had no arrows left, nor any materials to make any, nor had they any edged tool or weapon among them.

The extremity and distress they were reduced to was great, and indeed deplorable, but at the same time our men were also brought to very hard circumstances by them; for though their retreats were preserved, yet their provision was destroyed, and their harvest spoiled; and what to do, or which way to turn themselves, they knew not; the only refuge they had now was, the stock of cattle they had in the valley by the cave, and some little corn which grew there. The three *Englishmen*, *William Atkins* and his comrades, were now reduced to two, one of them being killed by an arrow, which struck him on the side of his head, just under the temples, so that he never spoke more; and it was very remarkable, that this was the same barbarous fellow who cut the poor savage slave with his hatchet, and who afterwards intended to have murdered the *Spaniards*.

I looked upon their case to have been worse at this time than mine was at any time after I first discovered the grains of barley and rice, and got into the

method of planting and raising my corn, and my tame cattle; for now they had, as I may say, an hundred wolves upon the island, which would devour every thing they could come at, yet could be very hardly come at themselves.

The first thing they concluded, when they saw what their circumstances were, was, that they would, if possible, drive them up to the farther part of the island, south-east, that if any more savages came on shore, they might not find one another; then, that they would daily hunt and harass them, and kill as many of them as they could come at, till they had reduced their number; and if they could at last tame them, and bring them to any thing, they would give them corn, and teach them how to plant, and live upon their daily labour.

In order to this, they followed them, and so terrified them with their guns, that in a few days, if any of them fired a gun at an *Indian*, if he did not hit him, yet he would fall down for fear; and so dreadfully frightened they were, that they kept out of sight farther and farther, till at last our men following them, and every day almost killing and wounding some of them, they kept up in the woods and hollow places so much, that it reduced them to the utmost misery for want of food; and many were afterwards found dead in the woods, without any hurt, but merely starved to death.

When our men found this, it made their hearts relent, and pity moved them; especially the *Spaniard* governor, who was the most gentleman-like, generous minded man that ever I met with in my life; and he proposed, if possible, to take one of them
alive,

alive, and bring him to understand what they meant, so far as to be able to act as interpreter, and to go among them, and see if they might be brought to some conditions, that might be depended upon, to save their lives, and do us no spoil.

It was some time before any of them could be taken; but being weak, and half-starved, one of them was at last surpris'd, and made a prisoner; he was fullen at first, and would neither eat nor drink; but finding himself kindly us'd, and victuals given him, and no violence offer'd him, he at last grew tractable, and came to himself.

They brought old *Friday* to him, who talk'd often with him, and told him how kind the others would be to them all; that they would not only save their lives, but would give them a part of the island to live in, provided they would give satisfaction; that they should keep in their own bounds, and not come beyond them, to injure or prejudice others; and that they should have corn given them, to plant and make it grow for their bread, and some bread given them for their present subsistence; and old *Friday* bade the fellow go and talk with the rest of his countrymen, and hear what they said to it; assuring them, that if they did not agree immediately they should all be destroyed.

The poor wretches, thoroughly humbled, and reduced in number to about thirty-seven, clos'd with the proposal at the first offer, and begged to have some food given them; upon which twelve *Spaniards* and two *Englishmen*, well armed, and three *Indian* slaves, and old *Friday*, march'd to the place where they were; the three *Indian* slaves carried them a

large quantity of bread, and some rice boiled up to cakes, and dried in the sun, and three live goats; and they were ordered to go to the side of an hill, where they sat down, eat the provisions very thankfully, and were the most faithful fellows to their words that could be thought of; for, except when they came to beg victuals and directions, they never came out of their bounds; and there they lived when I came to the island, and I went to see them.

They had taught them both to plant corn, make bread, breed tame goats, and milk them; they wanted nothing but wives, and they soon would have been a nation: they were confined to a neck of land, surrounded with high rocks behind them, and lying plain towards the sea before them, on the south-east corner of the island; they had land enough, and it was very good and fruitful; for they had a piece of land about a mile and a half broad, and three or four miles in length.

Our men taught them to make wooden spades, such as I made for myself; and gave among them twelve hatchets, and three or four knives; and there they lived the most subjected innocent creatures that were ever heard of.

After this the colony enjoyed a perfect tranquillity, with respect to the savages, till I came to re-visit them, which was in about two years; not but that now and then some canoes of savages came on shore for their triumphal, unnatural feasts; but as they were of several nations, and, perhaps, had never heard of those that came before, or the reason of it, they did not make any search or enquiry after their countrymen;

men ; and if they had, it would have been very hard for them to have found them out.

Thus, I think, I have given a full account of all that happened to them, to my return, at least, that was worth notice. The *Indians*, or savages, were wonderfully civilized by them, and they frequently went among them ; but forbid, on pain of death, any of the *Indians* coming to them, because they would not have their settlement betrayed again.

One thing was very remarkable, *viz.* that they taught the savages to make wicker-work, or baskets ; but they soon out-did their masters ; for they made abundance of most ingenious things in wicker-work ; particularly, all sorts of baskets, sieves, bird cages, cup-boards, &c. as also chairs to sit on, stools, beds, couches, and abundance of other things, being very ingenious at such work, when they were once put in the way of it.

My coming was a particular relief to these people, because we furnished them with knives, scissars, spades, shovels, pick-axes, and all things of that kind which they could want.

With the help of these tools they were so very handy, that they came, at last, to build up their huts, or houses, very handsomely ; raddling, or working it up like basket-work all the way round, which was a very extraordinary piece of ingenuity, and looked very odd ; but was an exceeding good fence, as well against heat, as against all sorts of vermin ; and our men were so taken with it, that they got the wild savages to come and do the like for them ; so that when I came to see the two *Englishmen's* colonies, they looked, at a distance, as if they lived all like bees in

a hive; and as for *Will Atkins*, who was now become a very industrious, necessary, and sober fellow, he had made himself such a tent of basket-work, as I believe was never seen. It was 120 paces round on the outside, as I measured by my steps; the walls were as close worked as a basket, in pannels or squares, thirty-two in number, and very strong, standing about seven feet high: in the middle was another not above 22 paces round, but built stronger, being eight square in its form, and in the eight corners stood eight very strong posts, round the top of which he laid strong pieces, joined together with wooden pins, from which he raised a pyramid before the roof of eight rafters, very handsome, I assure you, and joined together very well, though he had no nails, and only a few iron spikes, which he had made himself too, out of the old iron that I had left there; and, indeed, this fellow shewed abundance of ingenuity in several things which he had no knowledge of; he made himself a forge, with a pair of wooden bellows to blow the fire; he made himself charcoal for his work, and he formed out of one of the iron crows a middling good anvil to hammer upon; in this manner he made many things, but especially hooks, staples and spikes, bolts and hinges. But to return to the house; after he pitched the roof of his innermost tent, he worked it up between the rafters with basket-work, so firm, and thatched that over again so ingeniously with rice straw, and over that a large leaf of a tree, which covered the top, that his house was as dry as if it had been tiled or slated. Indeed he owned that the savages made the basket-work for him.

The

The outer circuit was covered, as a lean-to, all round this inner apartment, and long rafters lay from the 32 angles to the top posts of the inner house, being about twenty feet distant; so that there was a space like a walk within the outer wicker-wall, and without the inner, near twenty feet wide.

The inner place he partitioned off with the same wicker-work, but much fairer, and divided into six apartments, for that he had six rooms on a floor, and out of every one of these there was a door; first, into the entry, or coming into the main tent; and another door into the space or walk that was round it; so that this walk was also divided into six equal parts, which served not only for a retreat, but to store up any necessaries which the family had occasion for. These six spaces not taking up the whole circumference, what other apartments the outer circle had, were thus ordered: as soon as you were in at the door of the outer circle, you had a short passage straight before you to the door of the inner house; but on either side was a wicker partition, and a door in it, by which you went, first, into a large room or store-house, 20 feet wide, and about 30 feet long, and through that into another not quite so long: so that in the outer circle were ten handsome rooms, six of which were only to be come at through the apartments of the inner tent, and served as closets or retired rooms to the respective chambers of the inner circle; and four large warehouses or barns, or what you please to call them, which went in through one another, two on either hand of the passage that led through the outer door to the inner tent.

Such

Such a piece of basket-work, I believe, was never seen in the world ; nor an house or tent so neatly contrived, much less so built : in this great bee-hive lived the three families ; that is to say, *Will Atkins*, and his companions ; the third was killed, but his wife remained with three children ; for she was, it seems, big with child when he died ; and the other two were not at all backward to give the widow her full share of every thing, I mean, as to their corn, milk, grapes, &c. and when they killed a kid, or found a turtle on the shore ; so that they all lived well enough, though it was true, they were not so industrious as the other two, as has been observed already.

One thing, however, cannot be omitted, *viz.* that, as for religion, I don't know that there was any thing of that kind among them ; they pretty often, indeed, put one another in mind, that there was a God, by the very common method of seamen, *viz.* swearing by his name ; nor were their poor, ignorant savage wives much the better for having been married to *Christians*, as we must call them ; for as they knew very little of God themselves, so they were utterly incapable of entering into any discourse with their wives about a God, or to talk any thing to them concerning religion.

The utmost of all the improvement which I can say the wives had made from them, was, that they had taught them to speak *English* pretty well ; and all the children they had, which were near twenty in all, were taught to speak *English* too, from their first learning to speak, though they at first spoke it in a very broken manner, like their mothers. There were none of those children above six years old when I came thither ; for it was not much above seven

seven years that they had fetched these five savage ladies over, but they had all been pretty fruitful, for they had all children, more or less: I think the cook's mate's wife was big of her sixth child; and the mothers were all a good sort of well governed, quiet, laborious women, modest and decent, helpful to one another, mighty observant and subject to their masters, I cannot call them husbands; and wanted nothing but to be well instructed in the *Christian* religion, and to be legally married; both which were happily brought about afterwards by my means, or, at least, by the consequence of my coming among them.

Having thus given an account of the colony in general, and pretty much of my five runagade *Englishmen*, I must say something of the *Spaniards*, who were the main body of the family; and in whose story there are some incidents also remarkable enough.

I had a great many discourses with them about their circumstances, when they were among the savages: they told me readily, that they had no instances to give of their application or ingenuity in that country; that they were a poor, miserable, dejected handful of people; that if means had been put into their hands, they had yet so abandoned themselves to despair, and so sunk under the weight of their misfortunes, that they thought of nothing but starving. One of them, a grave and very sensible man, told me, he was convinced they were in the wrong; that it was not the part of wise men to give up themselves to their misery, but always to take hold of the helps which reason offered, as well for present support, as for future deliverance; he told me, that
grief

grief was the most senseless, insignificant passion in the world ; for that it regarded only things past, which were generally impossible to be recalled or to be remedied, but had no view to things to come, and had no share in any thing that looked like deliverance, but rather added to the affliction than proposed a remedy ; and upon this, he repeated a *Spanish* proverb ; which, though I cannot repeat in just the same words that he spoke it, yet I remember I made it into an *English* proverb of my own, thus :

*In trouble to be troubled,
Is to have your trouble doubled.*

He then ran on in remarks upon all the little improvements I had made in my solitude ; my unwearyed application, as he called it, and how I had made a condition, which, in its circumstances, was at first much worse than their's, a thousand times more happy than their's was, even now, when they were altogether : he told me, it was remarkable, that *Englishmen* had a greater presence of mind, in their distresses, than any people that ever he met with ; that their unhappy nation, and the *Portuguese*, were the worst men in the world to struggle with misfortunes ; for that their first step in dangers, after common efforts are over, was always to despair, lie down under it and die, without rousing their thoughts up to proper remedies for escape.

I told him, their case and mine differed exceedingly ; that they were cast upon the shore without necessaries, without supply of food, or of present sustenance, till they could provide it : that it is true, I had this disadvantage and discomfort, that I was alone ; but then the supplies I had providentially
thrown

thrown into my hands, by the unexpected driving of the ship on shore, was such a help as would have encouraged any creature in the world to have applied himself as I had done : *Seignior*, says the *Spaniard*, had we poor *Spaniards* been in your case, we should never have gotten half those things out of the ship as you did : nay, says he, we should never have found means to have gotten a raft to carry them, or to have gotten a raft on shore without boat or sail ; and how much less should we have done, said he, if any of us had been alone ! Well, I desired him to abate his compliment, and go on with the history of their coming on shore, where they landed : he told me, they unhappily landed at a place where there were people without provisions ; whereas, had they had the common sense to have put off to sea again, and gone to another island a little farther, they had found provisions, though without people ; there being an island that way, as they had been told, where there were provisions, though no people ; that is to say, that the *Spaniards* of *Trinidad* had frequently been there, and filled the island with goats and hogs at several times ; where they have bred in such multitudes, and where turtle and sea fowls were in such plenty, that they could have been in no want of flesh, though they had found no bread ; whereas here they were only sustained with a few roots and herbs, which they understood not, and which had no substance in them, and which the inhabitants gave them sparingly enough, and who could treat them no better, unless they would turn canibals, and eat men's flesh, which was the great dainty of the country.

They

They gave me an account how many ways they strove to civilize the savages they were with, and to teach them rational customs in the ordinary way of living ; but in vain : and how they retorted it upon them, as unjust, that they, who came thither for assistance and support, should attempt to set up for instructors of those that gave them bread ; intimating, it seems, that none should set up for the instructors of others, but those who could live without them.

They gave me dismal accounts of the extremities they were driven to ; how sometimes they were many days without any food at all ; the island they were upon being inhabited by a sort of savages that lived more indolent, and, for that reason, were less supplied with the necessaries of life, than they had reason to believe others were in the same part of the world ; and yet they found that these savages were less ravenous and voracious, than those who had better supplies of food.

Also they added, that they could not but see with what demonstrations of wisdom and goodness, the governing Providence of God directs the event of things in the world ; which, they said, appeared in their circumstances ; for if, pressed by the hardships they were under, and the barrenness of the country where they were, they had searched after a better place to live in, they had then been out of the way of the relief that happened to them by my means.

Then they gave me an account, how the savages, whom they lived among, expected them to go out with them into their wars ; and it was true, that, as they had fire-arms with them, had they not had the
disaster

disaster to lose their ammunition, they should not have been serviceable only to their friends, but have made themselves terrible both to friends and enemies; but being without powder and shot, and in a condition, that they could not in reason deny to go out with their landlords to their wars; when they came in the field of battle, they were in a worse condition than the savages themselves; for they neither had bows nor arrows, nor could they use those the savages gave them; so that they could do nothing but stand still, and be wounded with arrows, till they came up to the teeth of their enemy; and then, indeed, the three halberts they had were of use to them; and they would often drive a whole little army before them, with those halberts and sharpened sticks put into the muzzles of their muskets: but that for all this, they were sometimes surrounded with multitudes, and in great danger from their arrows; till at last they found the way to make themselves large targets of wood, which they covered with skins of wild beasts, whose names they knew not; and these covered them from the arrows of the savages; that, notwithstanding these, they were sometimes in great danger, and were once five of them knocked down together, with the clubs of the savages, which was the time when one of them was taken prisoner, that is to say, the *Spaniard* whom I had relieved: That at first they thought he had been killed, but when afterwards they heard he was taken prisoner, they were under the greatest grief imaginable, and would willingly have all ventured their lives to have rescued him.

They

They told me, that when they were so knocked down, the rest of their company rescued them, and stood over them fighting, till they were come to themselves, all but he who they thought had been dead; and then they made their way with their halberts and pieces, standing close together in a line, through a body of above a thousand savages, beating down all that came in their way, got the victory over their enemies, but to their great sorrow, because it was with the loss of their friend; whom the other party, finding him alive, carried off with some others, as I gave an account in my former.

They described most affectionately, how they were surprised with joy at the return of their friend and companion in misery, who they thought had been devoured by wild beasts of the worst of kind, *viz.* by wild men; and, yet how more and more they were surprised with the account he gave them of his errand, and that there was a *Christian* in a place near, much more one that was able, and had humanity enough to contribute to their deliverance.

They described how they were astonished at the sight of the relief I sent them, and at the appearance of loaves of bread, things they had not seen since their coming to that miserable place; how often they crossed it, and blessed it as bread sent from Heaven; and what a reviving cordial it was to their spirits to taste it; as also, of the other things I had sent for their supply. And, after all, they would have told me something of the joy they were in at the sight of a boat and pilots to carry them away to the person and place, from whence all these new comforts came; but they told me, it was impossible
to

to express it by words ; for their excessive joy driving them to unbecoming extravagancies, they had no way to describe them, but by telling me, that they bordered upon lunacy, having no way to give vent to their passion, suitable to the sense that was upon them ; that in some it worked one way, and in some another ; and that some of them, through a surprise of joy, would burst out into tears ; others be half mad, and others immediately faint. This discourse extremely affected me, and called to my mind *Friday's* extacy, when he met his father, and the poor people's extacy, when I took them up at sea, after their ship was on fire ; the mate of the ship's joy, when he found himself delivered in the place where he expected to perish ; and my own joy, when after twenty-eight years captivity, I found a good ship ready to carry me to my own country : All these things made me more sensible of the relation of these poor men, and more affected with it.

Having thus given a view of the state of things, as I found them, I must relate the heads of what I did for these people, and the condition in which I left them. It was their opinion, and mine too, that they would be troubled no more with the savages ; or that, if they were, they would be able to cut them off, if they were twice as many as before ; so that they had no concern about that. Then I entered into a serious discourse with the *Spaniard*, whom I called governor, about their stay in the island ; for as I was not come to carry any of them off, so it would not be just to carry off some, and leave others, who perhaps would be unwilling to stay if their strength was diminished.

On the other hand, I told them, I came to establish them there, not to remove them; and then I let them know, that I had brought with me relief of fundry kinds for them: That I had been at a great charge to supply them with all things necessary, as well for their convenience, as their defence; and that I had such particular persons with me, as well to increase and recruit their number, as by the particular necessary employments which they were bred to, being artificers, to assist them in those things, in which, at present, they were to seek.

They were all together when I talked thus to them; and before I delivered to them the stores I had brought, I asked them, one by one, if they had entirely forgot and buried the first animosities that had been among them, and could shake hands with one another, and engage in a strict friendship, and union of interest, so that there might be no more misunderstandings or jealousies.

William Atkins, with abundance of frankness and good-humour, said, They had met with afflictions enough to make them all sober, and enemies enough to make them all friends: That, for his part, he would live and die with them; and was so far from designing any thing against the *Spaniards*, that, he owned, they had done nothing to him but what his own bad humour made necessary, and what he would have done, and, perhaps, much worse, in their case; and that he would ask them pardon, if I desired it, for the foolish and brutish things he had done to them; and was very willing and desirous of living on terms of entire friendship and union with them; and would do any thing that lay in his power to convince

vince them of it: and as for going to *England*, he cared not if he did not go thither these twenty years.

The *Spaniards* said, they had, indeed, at first, disarmed and excluded *William Atkins*, and his two countrymen, for their ill conduct, as they had let me know: And they appealed to me, for the necessity they were under to do so; but that *William Atkins* had behaved himself so bravely in the great fight they had with the savages, and on several occasions since, and had shewed himself so faithful to, and concerned for the general interest of them all, that they had forgotten all that was past, and thought he merited as much to be trusted with arms, and supplied with necessaries, as any of them; and that they had testified their satisfaction in him, by committing the command to him, next to the governor himself; and as they had an entire confidence in him, and all his countrymen, so they acknowledged, they had merited that confidence, by all the methods that honest men could merit to be valued and trusted: and they most heartily embraced the occasion of giving me this assurance, that they would never have any interest separate from one another.

Upon these frank and open declarations of friendship, we appointed the next day to dine all together; and indeed, we made a splendid feast: I caused the ship's cook and his mate to come on shore, and dress our dinner; and the old cook's mate we had on shore, assisted. We brought on shore six pieces of good beef, and four pieces of pork, out of the ship's provision, with our punch bowl, and mate-

rials to fill it; and, in particular, I gave them ten bottles of *French* claret, and ten bottles of *English* beer; things that neither the *Spaniards*, or the *Englishmen*, had tasted for many years; and which, it may be supposed, they were exceeding glad of.

The *Spaniards* added to our feast five whole kids, which the cooks roasted; and three of them were sent, covered up close, on board our ship to the seamen, that they might feast on fresh meat from on shore, as we did with their salt meat from on board.

After this feast, at which we were very innocently merry, I brought out my cargo of goods, wherein, that there might be no dispute about dividing, I shewed them that there was sufficient for them all; and desired, that they might all take an equal quantity of the goods that were for wearing; that is to say, equal when made up. As first, I distributed linen sufficient to make every one of them four shirts; and, at the *Spaniard's* request, afterwards made them up six; these were exceeding comfortable to them, having been what, as I may say, they had long since forgot the use of, or what it was to wear them.

I allotted the thin *English* stuffs, which I mentioned before, to make every one a light coat, like a frock, which I judged fittest for the heat of the season, cool and loose; and ordered, that whenever they decayed, they should make more, as they thought fit: The like for pumps, shoes, stockings, and hats, &c.

I cannot

I cannot exprefs what pleasure, what fatisfaction, fat upon the countenances of all thefe poor men, when they faw the care I had taken of them, and how well I had furnifhed them: they told me, I was a father to them; and that, having fuch a correspondent as I was, in fo remote a part of the world, it would make them forget that they were left in a defolate place; and they all voluntarily engaged to me, not to leave the place without my confent.

Then I prefented to them the people I had brought with me; particularly the taylor, the fmith, and the two carpenters, all of them moft neceffary people; but above all, my general artificer, than whom they could not name any thing that was more needful to them; and the taylor, to fhew his concern for them, went to work immediately, and with my leave, made them every one a fhirt the firft thing he did; and, which was ftill more, he taught the women not only how to fow and ftitch, and ufe the needle, but made them affift to make the fhirts for their hufbands, and for all the reft.

As for the carpenters, I fcarce need mention how ufeful they were, for they took in pieces all my clumsy, unhandy things, and made them clever, convenient tables, ftools, bedfteads, cupboards, lockers, fhelves, and every thing they wanted of that kind.

But, to let them fee how nature made artificers at firft, I carried the carpenters to fee *William Atkins's* basket-house, as I called it; and they both owned, they never faw an inftance of fuch natural ingenuity before; nor any thing fo regular, and fo handily

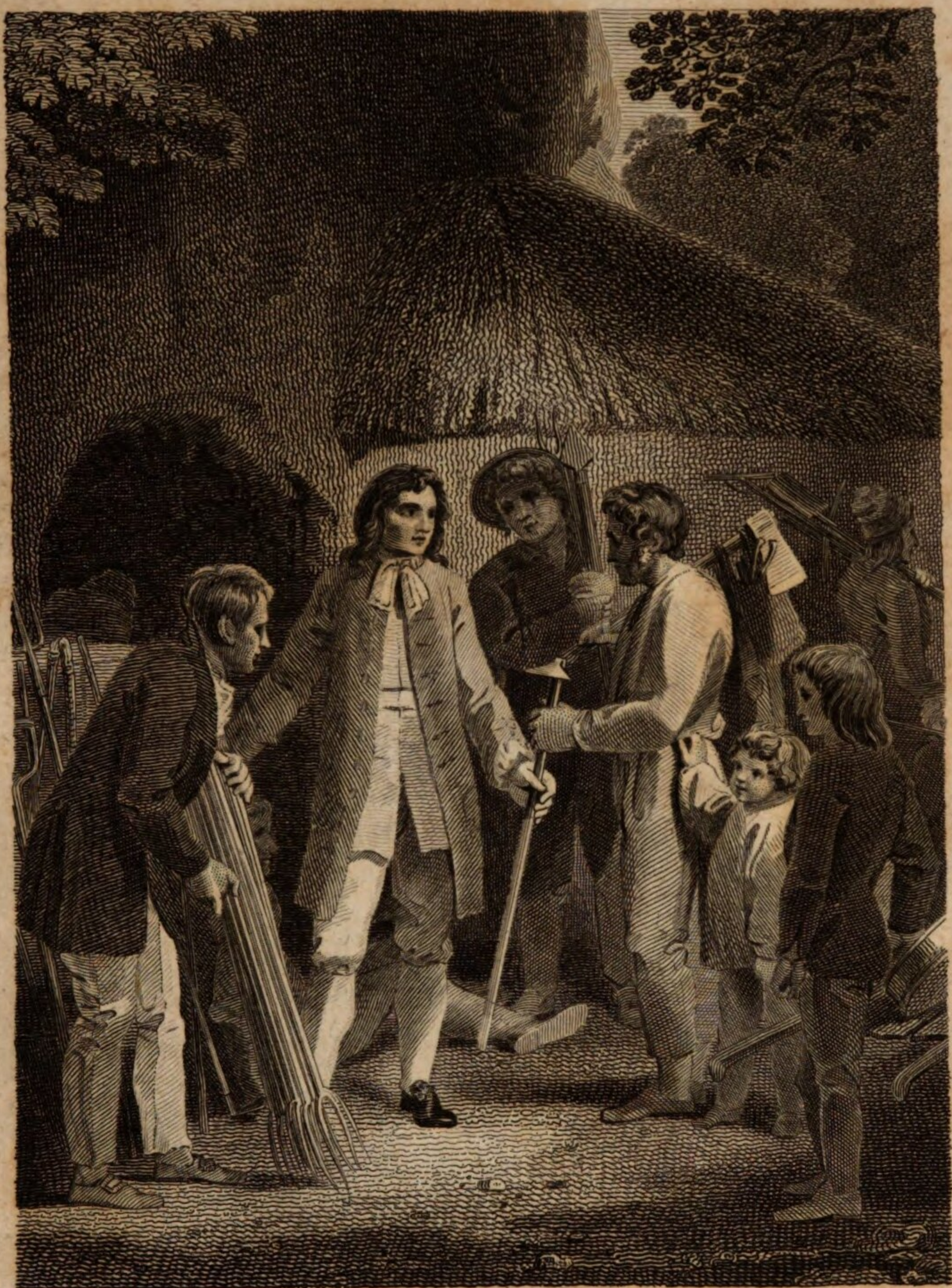
built, at least of its kind : and one of them, when he saw it, after musing a good while, turning about to me, I am sure, says he, that man has no need of us ; you need do nothing but give him tools.

Then I brought them out all my store of tools, and gave every man a digging spade, a shovel, and a rake, for we had no harrows or ploughs ; and, to every separate place, a pick-axe, a crow, a broad-axe, and a saw ; always appointing, that as often as any were broken, or worn out, they should be supplied, without grudging, out of the general stores that I left behind.

Nails, staples, hinges, hammers, chissels, knives, scissars, and all sorts of tools and iron-work, they had without tale, as they required ; for no man would care to take more than they wanted ; and he must be a fool that would waste or spoil them, on any account whatever : And for the use of the smith, I left two tons of unwrought iron for a supply.

My magazine of powder and arms, which I brought them, was such even to profusion, that they could not but rejoice at them ; for now they could march as I used to do, with a musket upon each shoulder, if there was occasion ; and were able to fight 1000 savages, if they had but some little advantages of situation ; which also they could not miss of, if they had occasion.

I carried on shore with me the young man whose mother was starved to death, and the maid also ; she was a sober, well-educated, religious young woman, and behaved so inoffensively, that every one gave her a good word : She had, indeed, an unhappy life with us, there being no woman in the ship but herself ;
but



Drawn by Stothard

Engraved by Medland

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but she bore it with patience. After a while, seeing things so well ordered, and in so fine a way of thriving upon my island, and considering that they had neither business or acquaintance in the *East Indies*, or reason for taking so long a voyage; I say, considering all this, both of them came to me, and desired I would give them leave to remain on the island, and be entered among my family, as they called it.

I agreed to it readily; and they had a little plot of ground allotted to them, where they had three tents or houses set up, surrounded with a basket-work, palisaded like *Atkins's*, and adjoining to his plantation; their tents were contrived so, that they had each of them a room, a part to lodge in, and a middle tent, like a great store-house, to lay all their goods in, and to eat and drink in: And now the other two *Englishmen* moved their habitation to the same place; and so the island was divided into three colonies, and no more; viz. The *Spaniards*, with old *Friday*, and the first servants, at my old habitation under the hill, which was, in a word, the capital city, and where they had so enlarged and extended their works, as well under as on the outside of the hill, that they lived, though perfectly concealed, yet full at large. Never was there such a little city in a wood, and so hid, I believe, in any part of the world: For, I verily believe, 1000 men might have ranged the island a month, and, if they had not known there was such a thing, and looked on purpose for it, they would not have found it; for the trees stood so thick, and so close, and grew so fast matted into one another, that nothing but cutting

them down first, could discover the place, except the two narrow entrances where they went in and out, could be found; which was not very easy: One of them was just down at the water's edge, on the side of the creek; and it was afterwards above 200 yards to the place; and the other was up the ladder at twice, as I have already formerly described it; and they had a large wood, thick planted, also on the top of the hill, which contained above an acre, which grew apace, and covered the place from all discovery there, with only one narrow place between two trees, not easy to be discovered, to enter on that side.

The other colony was that of *Will Atkins's*, where there were four families of *Englishmen*, I mean those I had left there, with their wives and children; three savages, that were slaves; the widow and children of the *Englishman* that was killed; the young man and the maid; and, by the way, we made a wife of her also, before we went away: There were also the two carpenters and the taylor, who I brought with me for them; also the smith, who was a very necessary man to them, especially as the gunsmith, to take care of their arms; and my other man, whom I called *Jack* of all trades; who was himself as good almost as twenty men, for he was not only a very ingenious fellow, but a very merry fellow; and, before I went away, we married him to the honest maid that came with the youth in the ship, whom I mentioned before.

And now I speak of marrying, it brings me naturally to say something of the *French* ecclesiastic that I had brought with me out of the ship's crew, whom

whom I took at sea. It is true, this man was a *Roman*, and perhaps, it may give offence to some hereafter, if I leave any thing extraordinary upon record, of a man, whom, before I begin, I must (to set him out in just colours) represent in terms very much to his disadvantage, in the account of Protestants ; as first, that he was a Papist ; secondly, a Popish priest ; and thirdly, a *French* Popish priest.

But justice demands of me to give him a due character ; and I must say, he was a grave, sober, pious, and most religious person ; exact in his life, extensive in his charity, and exemplary in almost every thing he did : What, then, can any one say against my being very sensible of the value of such a man, notwithstanding his profession ? Though it may be my opinion, perhaps, as well as the opinion of others, who shall read this, that he was mistaken.

The first hour that I began to converse with him, after he had agreed to go with me to the *East Indies*, I found reason to delight exceedingly in his conversation : And he first began with me about religion, in the most obliging manner imaginable.

Sir, says he, you have not only, under God (and at that he crossed his breast) saved my life, but you have admitted me to go this voyage in your ship, and by your obliging civility, have taken me into your family, giving me an opportunity of free conversation : Now, Sir, says he, you see by my habit, what my profession is ; and I guess by your nation, what your's is : I may think it is my duty, and doubtless it is so, to use my utmost endeavours, on all occasions, to bring all the souls that I can to the knowledge of the truth, and to embrace the Catholic doctrine ;

doctrine ; but, as I am here under your permission, and in your family, I am bound in justice to your kindness, as well as in decency and good manners, to be under your government ; and therefore I shall not, without your leave, enter into any debates on the points of religion, in which we may not agree, farther than you shall give me leave.

I told him, his carriage was so modest, that I could not but acknowledge it ; that it was true, we were such people as they call heretics ; but that he was not the first Catholic that I had conversed with, without falling into any inconveniencies, or carrying the questions to any height in debate ; that he should not find himself the worse used for being of a different opinion from us ; and if we did not converse without any dislike on either side, upon that score, it would be his fault, not ours.

He replied, That he thought our conversation might be easily separated from disputes ; that it was not his business to cap principles with every man he discoursed with ; and that he rather desired me to converse with him as a *gentleman*, than as a *religieux* ; that if I would give him leave, at any time, to discourse upon religious subjects, he would readily comply with it ; and that then he did not doubt but I would allow him also to defend his own opinions, as well as he could : but that, without my leave, he would not break in upon me with any such thing.

He told me farther, that he would not cease to do all that became him in his office, as a priest, as well as a private Christian, to procure the goods of the ship, and the safety of all that was in her ; and though, perhaps, we would not join with him, and
he

he could not pray with us, he hoped he might pray for us, which he would do upon all occasions. In this manner we conversed; and, as he was of a most obliging gentleman-like behaviour, so he was, if I may be allowed to say so, a man of good sense, and, as I believe, of great learning.

He gave me a most diverting account of his life, and of the many extraordinary events of it; of many adventures which had befallen him in the few years that he had been abroad in the world, and particularly this was very remarkable; *viz.* That during the voyage he was now engaged in, he had the misfortune to be five times shipped and unshipped, and never to go to the place whither any of the ships he was in were at first designed: That his first intent was, to have gone to *Martinico*; and that he went on board a ship bound thither at *St. Maloes*; but being forced into *Lisbon* in bad weather, the ship received some damage, by running aground in the mouth of the river *Tagus*, and was obliged to unload her cargo there: That finding a *Portuguese* ship there, bound to the *Madeiras*, and ready to sail, and supposing he should easily meet with a vessel there bound to *Martinico*, he went on board, in order to sail to the *Madeiras*; but the master of the *Portuguese* ship, being but an indifferent mariner, had been out in his reckoning, and they drove to *Fial*; where, however, he happened to find a very good market for his cargo, which was corn; and therefore resolved not to go to the *Madeiras*, but to load salt at the *Isle of May*, to go away to *Newfoundland*: He had no remedy in the exigence, but to go with the ship; and had a pretty good voyage as far as the
Banks,

Banks, (so they call the place where they catch the fish) where meeting with a *French* ship bound from *France* to *Quebec*, in the river of *Canada*, and from thence to *Martinico*, to carry provisions, he thought he should have an opportunity to complete his first design : But when he came to *Quebec*, the master of the ship died, and the ship proceeded no farther : So the next voyage he shipped himself for *France*, in the ship that was burnt, when we took them up at sea, and then shipped them with us for the *East Indies*, as I have already said. Thus he had been disappointed in five voyages, all, as I may call it, in one voyage, besides what I shall have occasion to mention farther of the same person.

But I shall not make digressions into other men's stories, which have no relation to my own. I return to what concerns our affair in the island : He came to me one morning, for he lodged among us all the while we were upon the island ; and it happened to be just when I was going to visit the *Englishmen's* colony, at the farthest part of the island ; I say, he came to me, and told me, with a very grave countenance, that he had, for two or three days, desired an opportunity of some discourse with me, which, he hoped, would not be displeasing to me, because he thought it might, in some measure, correspond with my general design, which was the prosperity of my new colony ; and, perhaps, might put it, at least, more than he yet thought it was, in the way of God's blessing.

I looked a little surprized at the last part of his discourse ; and turning a little short, How, Sir, said I, can it be said, that we are not in the way of God's blessing,

bleffing, after fuch vifible affiftances, and wonderful deliverances, as we have feen here, and of which I have given you a large account?

If you had pleafed, Sir, faid he, (with a world of modefty, and yet with great readinefs) to have heard me, you would have found no room to have been difpleafed, much lefs to think fo hard of me that I fhould fuggeft, that you have not had wonderful affiftances and deliverances: And, I hope, on your behalf, that you are in the way of God's bleffing, and your design is exceeding good, and will prosper. But, Sir, faid he, though it were more fo, than is even poffible to you, yet there may be fome among you that are not equally right in their actions: And you know, that in the ftory of *Israel*, one *Achan*, in the camp, removed God's bleffing from them, and turned his hand fo againft them, that thirty-fix of them, though not concerned in the crime, were the objects of divine vengeance, and bore the weight of that punifhment.

I was fenfibly touched with this difcourfe; and told him his inference was fo juft, and the whole design feemed fo fincere, and was really fo religious in its own nature, that I was very forry I had interrupted him; and begged him to go on: And, in the mean time, becaufe it feemed, that what we had both to fay, might take up fome time, I told him I was going to the *Englifhman's* plantation, and afked him to go with me, and we might difcourfe of it by the way: He told me, he would more willingly wait on me thither, becaufe there, partly, the thing was acted, which he defired to fpeak to me about: So
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we walked on, and I pressed him to be free and plain with me, in what he had to say.

Why then, Sir, says he, be pleased to give me leave to lay down a few propositions, as the foundation of what I have to say, that we may not differ in the general principles, though we may be of some differing opinions in the practice of particulars. First, Sir, though we differ in some of the doctrinal articles of religion, and it is very unhappy that it is so, especially in the case before us, as I shall shew afterwards; yet, there are some general principles in which we both agree; *viz.* First, that there is a God; and that this God, having given us some stated general rules for our service and obedience, we ought not willingly and knowingly to offend him, either by neglecting to do what he has commanded, or by doing what he has expressly forbidden; and let our different religions be what they will, this general principle is readily owned by us all: That the blessing of God does not ordinarily follow a presumptuous sinning against his command; and every good Christian will be affectionately concerned to prevent any that are under his care, living in a total neglect of God and his commands. It is not your men being Protestants, whatever my opinion may be of such, that discharges me from being concerned for their souls, and from endeavouring, if it lies before me, that they should live in as little distance from, and enmity with their Maker as possible; especially if you give me leave to meddle so far in your circuit.

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I could not yet imagine what he aimed at, and told him I granted all he had said; and thanked him, that he would so far concern himself for us; and begged he would explain the particulars of what he had observed, that, like *Joshua*, (to take his own parable) I might put away the accursed thing from us.

Why then, Sir, says he, I will take the liberty you give me; and there are three things, which, if I am right, must stand in the way of God's blessing upon your endeavours here, and which I should rejoice, for your sake, and their own, to see removed. And, Sir, says he, I promise myself that you will fully agree with me in them all, as soon as I name them; especially, because I shall convince you, that every one of them may, with great ease, and very much to your satisfaction, be remedied.

He gave me no leave to put in any more civilities, but went on. First, Sir, says he, you have here four *Englishmen*, who have fetched women from among the savages, and have taken them as their wives, and have had many children by them all, and yet are not married to them after any stated legal manner, as the laws of God and man require; and therefore are yet, in the sense of both, no less than adulterers, and living in adultery. To this, Sir, says he, I know you will object, that there was no clergyman, or priest of any kind, or of any profession, to perform the ceremony; nor any pen and ink, or paper, to write down a contract of marriage, and have it signed between them. And I know also, Sir, what the *Spaniard* governor has told you; I mean, of the agreement

agreement that he obliged them to make when they took these women, *viz.* That they should chuse them out by consent, and keep separately to them; which, by the way, is nothing of a marriage, no agreement with the women as wives, but only an agreement among themselves, to keep them from quarrelling.

But, Sir, the essence of the sacrament of matrimony (so he called it, being a *Roman*) consists not only in the mutual consent of the parties to take one another as man and wife, but in the formal and legal obligation that there is in the contract, to compel the man and woman, at all times, to own and acknowledge each other; obliging the man to abstain from all other women, to engage in no other contract while these subsist; and on all occasions, as ability allows, to provide honestly for them, and their children; and to oblige the women to the same, or like conditions, *mutatis mutandis*, on their side.

Now, Sir, says he, these men may, when they please, or when occasion presents, abandon these women, disown their children, leave them to perish, and take other women, and marry them whilst these are living. And here he added, with some warmth, How, Sir, is God honoured in this unlawful liberty? And how shall a blessing succeed your endeavours in this place, however good in themselves, and however sincere in your design, while these men, who at present are your subjects, under your absolute government and dominion, are allowed by you to live in open adultery?

I confess, I was struck at the thing itself, but much more with the convincing arguments he supported

ported it with : for it was certainly true, that though they had no clergyman on the spot, yet a formal contract on both sides, made before witnesses, and confirmed by any token, which they had all agreed to be bound by, though it had been but the breaking a stick between them, engaging the men to own these women for their wives upon all occasions, and never to abandon them or their children, and the women to the same with their husbands, had been an effectual lawful marriage in the sight of God ; and it was a great neglect that it was not done.

But I thought to have gotten off with my young priest, by telling him, that all that part was done when I was not here ; and they had lived so many years with them now, that if it was adultery, it was past remedy ; they could do nothing in it now.

Sir, says he, asking your pardon for such freedom, you are right in this ; that it being done in your absence, you could not be charged with that part of the crime. But I beseech you, flatter not yourself, that you are not therefore under an obligation to do your uttermost now to put an end to it : How can you think, but that, let the time past lie on whom it will, all the guilt, for the future, will lie entirely upon you ? Because it is certainly in your power now to put an end to it ; and in nobody's power but your's.

I was so dull still, that I did not take him right ; but I imagined, that, by putting an end to it, he meant, that I should part them, and not suffer them to live together any longer ; and I said to him, I could not do that by any means, for that it would put the whole island in confusion. He seemed sur-

prised that I should so far mistake him. No, Sir, says he, I do not mean that you should separate them, but legally and effectually marry them now: And, Sir, as my way of marrying may not be so easy to reconcile them to, though it will be as effectual, even by your own laws; so your way may be as well before God, and as valid among men; I mean, by a written contract, signed by both man and woman, and by all the witnesses present; which all the laws of *Europe* would decree to be valid.

I was amazed to see so much true piety, and so much sincerity of zeal, besides the unusual impartiality in his discourse, as to his own party or church, and such a true warmth for the preserving people that he had no knowledge of, or relation to; I say, for preserving them from transgressing the laws of God; the like of which, I had, indeed, not met with any where. But recollecting what he had said of marrying them by a written contract, which I knew would stand too, I returned it back upon him, and told him, I granted all that he had said to be just, and, on his part, very kind; that I would discourse with the men upon the point now, when I came to them. And I knew no reason why they should scruple to let him marry them all; which I knew well enough would be granted to be as authentic and valid in *England*, as if they were married by one of our own clergymen. What was afterwards done in this matter, I shall speak of by itself.

I then pressed him to tell me, what was the second complaint which he had to make; acknowledging, that I was very much his debtor for the first; and

thanked him heartily for it. He told me he would use the same freedom and plainness in the second; and hoped I would take it as well: and this was, that notwithstanding these *English* subjects of mine, as he called them, had lived with these women for almost seven years, and had taught them to speak *English*, and even to read it; and that they were, as he perceived, women of tolerable understanding, and capable of instruction; yet they had not to this hour taught them any thing of the Christian religion; no, not so much as to know that there was a God, or a worship, or in what manner God was to be served; or that their own idolatry, and worshipping they knew not who, was false and absurd.

This, he said, was an unaccountable neglect, and what God would certainly call them to an account for; and, perhaps, at last take the work out of their hands. He spoke this very affectionately and warmly. I am persuaded, says he, had those men lived in the savage country, whence their wives came, the savages would have taken more pains to have brought them to be idolators, and to worship the devil, than any of these men, so far as I can see, has taken with them, to teach them the knowledge of the true God. Now, Sir, said he, though I do not acknowledge your religion, or you mine, yet we should be all glad to see the devil's servants, and the subjects of his kingdom, taught to know the general principles of the Christian religion; that they might at least hear of God, and of a Redeemer, and of the resurrection, and of a future state, things which we all believe; they had at least been so much nearer coming

into the bosom of the true church, than they are now, in the public profession of idolatry, and devil-worship.

I could hold no longer; I took him in my arms, and embraced him with an excess of passion: How far, said I to him, have I been from understanding the most essential part of a Christian, *viz.* to love the interest of the Christian church, and the good of other men's souls! I scarce have known what belongs to being a Christian. O, Sir, do not say so, replied he; this thing is not your fault. No, said I, but why did I never lay it to heart as well as you? It is not too late yet, said he; be not too forward to condemn yourself. But what can be done now? said I; you see I am going away. Will you give me leave, said he, to talk with these poor men about it? Yes, with all my heart, said I; and I will oblige them to give heed to what you say too. As to that, said he, we must leave them to the mercy of Christ; but it is our business to assist them, encourage them, and instruct them; and, if you will give me leave, and God his blessing, I do not doubt but the poor ignorant souls shall be brought home into the great circle of Christianity, if not into the particular faith that we all embrace; and that even while you stay here. Upon this I said, I shall not only give you leave, but give you a thousand thanks for it. What followed on this account I shall mention also again in its place.

I now pressed him for the third article in which we were to blame: Why really, says he, it is of the same nature, and I will proceed (asking your leave) with

with the same plainness as before : It is about your poor savages yonder, who are (as I may say) your conquered subjects. It is a maxim, Sir, that is, or ought to be received among all Christians, of what church, or pretended church soever, *viz.* that Christian knowledge ought to be propagated by all possible means, and on all possible occasions. It is on this principle that our church sends missionaries into *Persia, India, and China*; and that our clergy, even of the superior sort, willingly engage in the most hazardous voyages, and the most dangerous residence, among murderers and barbarians, to teach them the knowledge of the true God, and to bring them over to embrace the Christian faith. Now, Sir, you have an opportunity here, to have six or seven-and-thirty poor savages brought over from idolatry to the knowledge of God, their Maker and Redeemer, that I wonder how you can pass by such an occasion of doing good; which is really worth the expence of a man's whole life.

I was now struck dumb indeed, and had not one word to say : I had here a spirit of true Christian zeal for God and religion before me, let his particular principles be of what kind soever : As for me, I had not so much as entertained a thought of this in my heart before; and, I believe, should not have thought of it; for I looked upon these savages as slaves, and people, whom, had we any work for them to do, we would have used as such, or would have been glad to have transported them to any other part of the world; for our business was to get rid of them; and we would all have been satisfied, if they had been sent to any country, so they had never seen their own. But, to the case : I say, I was

confounded at his discourse, and knew not what answer to make him. He looked earnestly at me, seeing me in some disorder : Sir, said he, I shall be very sorry, if what I have said gives you any offence. No, no, said I, I am offended with nobody but myself ; but I am perfectly confounded, not only to think that I should never take any notice of this before, but with reflecting what notice I am able to take of it now. You know, Sir, said I, what circumstances I am in ; I am bound to the *East Indies*, in a ship freighted by merchants, and to whom it would be an insufferable piece of injustice to detain their ship here, the men lying all this while at victuals and wages upon the owner's account : it is true, I agreed to be allowed twelve days here ; and if I stay more, I must pay 3*l.* sterling *per diem* demurrage ; nor can I stay upon demurrage above eight days more ; and I have been here thirteen days already : So that I am perfectly unable to engage in this work, unless I would suffer myself to be left behind here again ; in which case, if this single ship should miscarry in any part of her voyage, I should be just in the same condition that I was left in here at first ; and from which I have been so wonderfully delivered.

He owned the case was very hard upon me as to my voyage ; but laid it home upon my conscience, whether the blessing of saving seven-and-thirty souls, was not worth my venturing all I had in the world for ? I was not so sensible of that as he was : and I returned upon him thus : Why, Sir, it is a valuable thing indeed, to be an instrument in God's hand, to
convert



Drawn by Stothard

Engraved by Medland

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convert seven-and-thirty heathens to the knowledge of Christ; but as you are an ecclesiastic, and are given over to that work, so that it seems naturally to fall into the way of your profession, how is it then, that you do not rather offer yourself to undertake it, than press me to it?

Upon this he faced about, just before me, as he walked along, and, putting me to a full stop, made me a very low bow: I most heartily thank God, and you, Sir, says he, for giving me so evident a call to so blessed a work; and if you think yourself discharged from it, and desire me to undertake it, I will most readily do it, and think it a happy reward for all the hazards and difficulties of such a broken, disappointed voyage as I have met with, that I have dropped at last into so glorious a work.

I discovered a kind of rapture in his face, while he spoke this to me; his eyes sparkled like fire, his face glowed, and his colour came and went, as if he had been falling into fits: in a word, he was fired with the joy of being embarked in such a work. I paused a considerable while before I could tell what to say to him; for I was really surprised to find a man of such sincerity and zeal, and carried out in his zeal beyond the ordinary rate of men, not of his profession only, but even of any profession whatsoever: but, after I had considered it a while, I asked him seriously, if he was in earnest, and that he would venture on the single consideration of an attempt on those poor people, to be locked up in an unplanted island for, perhaps, his life; and at last, might not know

whether he should be able to do them any good or not?

He turned short upon me, and asked me, what I called a venture? Pray, Sir, said he, what do you think I consented to go in your ship to the *East Indies* for? Nay, said I, that I know not, unless it was to preach to the *Indians*. Doubtless it was, said he; and do you think, if I can convert these seven-and-thirty men to the faith of Christ, it is not worth my time, though I should never be fetched off the island again? Nay, is it not infinitely of more worth to save so many souls, than my life is, or the life of twenty more of the same profession? Yes, Sir, says he, I would give Christ and the Blessed Virgin thanks all my days, if I could be made the least happy instrument of saving the souls of these poor men, though I was never to set my foot off this island, or see my native country any more: But since you will honour me, says he, with putting me into this work, (for which I will pray for you all the days of my life) I have one humble petition to you, said he, besides. What is that? said I. Why, says he, it is, that you will leave your man *Friday* with me, to be my interpreter to them, and to assist me; for, without some help, I cannot speak to them, or they to me.

I was sensibly troubled at his requesting *Friday*, because I could not think of parting with him, and that for many reasons: He had been the companion of my travels; he was not only faithful to me, but sincerely affectionate to the last degree; and I had resolved to do something considerable for him, if he out-lived me, as it was probable he would: then I knew, that as I had bred *Friday* up to be a Protestant,
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it would quite confound him, to bring him to embrace another profession; and he would never, while his eyes were open, believe that his old master was an heretic, and would be damned; and this might in the end ruin the poor fellow's principles, and so turn him back again to his first idolatry.

However, a sudden thought relieved me in this strait, and it was this: I told him, I could not say that I was willing to part with *Friday* on any account whatever; though a work, that to him was of more value than his life, ought to me to be of much more value than the keeping or parting with a servant. But, on the other hand, I was persuaded, that *Friday* would by no means consent to part with me; and then to force him to it, without his consent, would be manifest injustice; because I had promised I would never put him away; and he had promised and engaged to me that he would never leave me, unless I put him away.

He seemed very much concerned at it; for he had no rational access to these poor people, seeing he did not understand one word of their language, nor they one word of his. To remove this difficulty, I told him, *Friday's* father had learned *Spanish*, which I found he also understood; and he should serve him for an interpreter: so he was much better satisfied, and nothing could persuade him but he would stay to endeavour to convert them; but Providence gave another and very happy turn to all this.

I come back now to the first part of his objections. When we came to the *Englishmen*, I sent for them all together; and after some accounts given them of
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what I had done for them, *viz.* what necessary things I had provided for them, and how they were distributed, which they were sensible of, and very thankful for ; I began to talk to them of the scandalous life they led, and gave them a full account of the notice the clergyman had already taken of it ; and, arguing how unchristian and irreligious a life it was, I first asked them, if they were married men or bachelors ? They soon explained their condition to me, and shewed me that two of them were widowers, and the other three were single men or bachelors : I asked them, with what conscience they could take these women, and lie with them, as they had done, call them their wives, and have so many children by them, and not be married lawfully to them ?

They all gave me the answer that I expected, *viz.* that there was nobody to marry them ; that they agreed before the governor to keep them as their wives ; and to keep them, and own them, as their wives ; and they thought, as things stood with them, they were as legally married as if they had been married by a parson, and with all the formalities in the world.

I told them, that no doubt they were married in the sight of God, and were bound in conscience to keep them as their wives ; but that the laws of men being otherwise, they might pretend they were not married, and so desert the poor women and children hereafter ; and that their wives, being poor desolate women, friendless and moneyless, would have no way to help themselves : I therefore told them, that unless I was assured of their honest intent, I could do nothing

thing for them ; but would take care, that what I did should be for the women and children, without them ; and that unless they would give some assurances that they would marry the women, I could not think it was convenient they should continue together as man and wife ; for that it was both scandalous to men, and offensive to God, who they could not think would bless them, if they went on thus.

All this passed as I expected ; and they told me, especially *Will Atkins*, who seemed now to speak for the rest, that they loved their wives as well as if they had been born in their own native country, and would not leave them upon any account whatever ; and they did verily believe their wives were as virtuous and as modest, and did, to the utmost of their skill, as much for them, and for their children, as any women could possibly do ; and they would not part with them on any account : And *Will Atkins*, for his own particular, added, if any man would take him away, and offer to carry him home to *England*, and to make him captain of the best man of war in the navy, he would not go with him, if he might not carry his wife and children with him ; and if there was a clergyman in the ship, he would be married to her now, with all his heart.

This was just as I would have it ; the priest was not with me at that moment, but was not far off : So, to try him farther, I told him I had a clergyman with me, and, if he was sincere, I would have him married the next morning ; and bade him consider of it, and talk with the rest : He said, as for himself,

self, he need not consider of it at all ; for he was very ready to do it, and was glad I had a minister with me ; and he believed they would be all willing also. I then told him, that my friend, the minister, was a *Frenchman*, and could not speak *English* ; but that I would act the clerk between them. He never so much as asked me whether he was a Papist or Protestant ; which was indeed what I was afraid of. But, I say, they never enquired about it. So we parted : I went back to my clergyman ; and *Will Atkins* went in to talk with his companions. I desired the *French* gentleman not to say any thing to them, till the business was thorough ripe ; and I told him what answer the men had given me.

Before I went from their quarter, they all came to me, and told me, they had been considering what I had said ; that they were very glad to hear I had a clergyman in my company ; and they were very willing to give me the satisfaction I desired, and to be formally married as soon as I pleased ; for they were far from desiring to part from their wives ; and that they meant nothing but what was very honest, when they chose them : so I appointed them to meet me the next morning ; and that, in the mean time, they should let their wives know the meaning of the marriage law ; and that it was not only to prevent any scandal, but also to oblige them, that they should not forsake them, whatever might happen.

The women were easily made sensible of the meaning of the thing, and were very well satisfied with it, as, indeed, they had reason to be ; so they failed not to attend all together, at my apartment, the
next

next morning, where I brought out my clergyman: and though he had not on a minister's gown, after the manner of *England*, or the habit of a priest, after the manner of *France*; yet having a black vest, something like a cassock, with a sash round it, he did not look very unlike a minister; and as for his language, I was interpreter.

But the seriousness of his behaviour to them, and the scruples he made of marrying the women, because they were not baptized, and professed Christians, gave them an exceeding reverence for his person; and there was no need after that to enquire whether he was a clergyman or no.

Indeed I was afraid his scruple would have been carried so far, as that he would not have married them at all: nay, notwithstanding all I was able to say to him, he resisted me, though modestly, yet very steadily; and at last, refused absolutely to marry them, unless he had first talked with the men, and the women too; and though at first I was a little backward to it, yet at last I agreed to it with a good will, perceiving the sincerity of his design.

When he came to them, he let them know that I had acquainted him with their circumstances, and with the present design; that he was very willing to perform that part of his function, and marry them, as I had desired; but that, before he could do it, he must take the liberty to talk with them; he told them, that in the sight of all different men, and in the sense of the laws of society, they had lived all this while in an open adultery; and that it was true, that nothing but the consenting to marry, or effectually

tually separating them from one another now, could put an end to it; but there was a difficulty in it too, with respect to the laws of Christian matrimony, which he was not fully satisfied about, *viz.* That of marrying one that is a professed Christian, to a savage, an idolater and an heathen, one that is not baptized; and yet that he did not see, that there was time left for it, to endeavour to persuade the women to be baptized, or to profess the name of Christ, whom they had, he doubted, heard nothing of, and without which they could not be baptized.

He told me, he doubted they were but indifferent Christians themselves; that they had but little knowledge of God, or his ways; and therefore he could not expect, that they had said much to their wives on that head yet; but that unless they would promise him to use their endeavours with their wives, to persuade them to become Christians, and would as well as they could instruct them in the knowledge and belief of God that made them, and to worship Jesus Christ that redeemed them, he could not marry them; for he would have no hand in joining Christians with savages; nor was it consistent with the principles of the Christian religion; and was, indeed, expressly forbidden in God's law.

They heard all this very attentively, and I delivered it very faithfully to them, from his mouth, as near his own words as I could, only sometimes adding something of my own, to convince them how just it was, and how I was of his mind: And I always very faithfully distinguished between what I said from myself,

myself, and what were the clergyman's words. They told me, it was very true what the gentleman had said, that they were but very indifferent Christians themselves, and that they had never talked to their wives about religion: Lord, Sir, says *Will Atkins*, how should we teach them religion? Why, we know nothing ourselves; and besides, Sir, said he, should we go to talk to them of God, and Jesus Christ, and heaven and hell, it would be to make them laugh at us, and ask us, what we believe ourselves? And if we should tell them, we believe all the things that we speak of to them, such as of good people going to heaven, and wicked people to the devil, they would ask us, where we intended to go ourselves, who believe all this, and yet are such wicked fellows, as we indeed are: Why, Sir, said *Will*, 'tis enough to give them a surfeit of religion, at first hearing: folks must have some religion themselves, before they pretend to teach other people.—*Will Atkins*, said I to him, though I am afraid what you say has too much truth in it, yet can you not tell your wife, that she is in the wrong? that there is a God, and a religion better than her own; that her gods are idols; that they can neither hear nor speak; that there is a great Being that made all things, and that can destroy all that he has made; that he rewards the good, and punishes the bad; that we are to be judged by him, at last, for all we do here: you are not so ignorant, but even nature itself will teach you, that all this is true; and I am satisfied you know it all to be true, and believe it yourself.

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That's true, Sir, said *Atkins* ; but with what face can I say any thing to my wife of all this, when she will tell me immediately, it cannot be true ?

Not true ! said I,—what do you mean by that ? Why, Sir, said he, she will tell me it cannot be true, that this God (I shall tell her of) can be just, or can punish or reward, since I am not punished, and sent to the devil, that have been such a wicked creature as she knows I have been, even to her, and to every body else ; and that I should be suffered to live, that have been always acting so contrary to what I must tell her is good, and to what I ought to have done.

Why truly, *Atkins*, said I, I am afraid thou speakest too much truth : and with that I let the clergyman know what *Atkins* had said ; for he was impatient to know : O ! said the priest, tell him there is one thing will make him the best minister in the world to his wife, and that is repentance ; for none teach repentance like true penitents : He wants nothing but to repent, and then he will be so much the better qualified to instruct his wife ; he will then be able to tell her, that there is not only a God, and that he is the just rewarder of good and evil ; but that he is a merciful Being, and, with infinite goodness and long suffering, forbears to punish those that offend ; waiting to be gracious, and willing not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should return and live ; that he often suffers wicked men to go on a long time, and even reserves damnation to the general day of retribution : that it is a clear evidence of God, and of a future state, that righteous men
receive

receive not their reward, or wicked men their punishment, till they come into another world; and this will lead him to teach his wife the doctrine of the resurrection, and of the last judgment: let him but repent for himself, he will be an excellent preacher of repentance to his wife.

I repeated all this to *Atkins*, who looked very serious all the while, and who, we could easily perceive, was more than ordinarily affected with it: when being eager, and hardly suffering me to make an end—I knew, all this, master, says he, and a great deal more; but I han't the impudence to talk thus to my wife: when God, and my own conscience knows, and my wife will be an undeniable evidence against me, that I have lived as if I had never heard of God, or a future state, or any thing about it; and to talk of my repenting, alas! (and with that he fetched a deep sigh; and I could see that tears stood in his eyes) 'tis past all that with me. Past it! *Atkins*, said I: What dost thou mean by that? I know well enough what I mean, Sir, says he; I mean 'tis too late; and that is too true.

I told my clergyman word for word what he said: the poor zealous priest (I must call him so; for be his opinion what it will, he had certainly a most singular affection for the good of other men's souls; and it would be hard to think he had not the like for his own; I say, this zealous, affectionate man) could not refrain tears also: But recovering himself, he said to me, Ask him but one question: Is he easy that it is too late, or is he troubled, and wishes it were not so? I put the question fairly to *Atkins*;

and he answered with a great deal of passion, How could any man be easy in a condition that certainly must end in eternal destruction? That he was far from being easy; but that, on the contrary, he believed it would one time or the other ruin him.

What do you mean by that? said I. Why, he said, he believed he should, one time or another, cut his own throat, to put an end to the terror of it.

The clergyman shook his head, with a great concern in his face, when I told him all this; but, turning quick to me upon it, said, If that be his case, you may assure him it is not too late; Christ will give him repentance: But pray, says he, explain this to him, That as no man is saved but by Christ, and the merit of his passion, procuring divine mercy for him, how can it be too late for any man to receive mercy? Does he think he is able to sin beyond the power or reach of divine mercy? Pray tell him, There may be a time when provoked mercy will no longer strive, and when God may refuse to hear; but that 'tis never too late for men to ask mercy; and we that are Christ's servants are commanded to preach mercy at all times, in the name of Jesus Christ, to all those that sincerely repent: so that 'tis never too late to repent.

I told *Atkins* all this, and he heard me with great earnestness; but it seemed as if he turned off the discourse to the rest; for he said to me, he would go and have some talk with his wife: so he went out awhile, and we talked to the rest. I perceived they were all stupidly ignorant, as to matters of religion;
much

much as I was when I went rambling away from my father: and yet that there were none of them backward to hear what had been said; and all of them seriously promised, that they would talk with their wives about it, and do their endeavour to persuade them to turn Christians.

The clergyman smiled upon me, when I reported what answer they gave, but said nothing a good while; but, at last, shaking his head, We that are Christ's servants, says he, can go no farther than to exhort and instruct; and when men comply, submit to the reproof, and promise what we ask, 'tis all we can do; we are bound to accept their good words; but, believe me, Sir, said he, whatever you may have known of the life of that man you call *William Atkins*, I believe he is the only sincere convert among them; I take that man to be a true penitent; I won't despair of the rest; but that man is perfectly struck with the sense of his past life; and I doubt not, but when he comes to talk of religion to his wife, he will talk himself effectually into it; for attempting to teach others is sometimes the best way of teaching ourselves. I knew a man, added he, who, having nothing but a summary notion of religion himself, and being wicked and profligate, to the last degree, in his life, made a thorough reformation in himself, by labouring to convert a Jew: And if that poor *Atkins* begins but once to talk seriously of Jesus Christ to his wife, my life for it, he talks himself into a thorough convert, makes himself a penitent: and who knows what may follow?

Upon this discourse, however, and their promising, as above, to endeavour to persuade their wives to

embrace Christianity, he married the other three couple; but *Will Atkins* and his wife were not yet come in. After this, my clergyman, waiting a while, was curious to know where *Atkins* was gone; and, turning to me, says he, I intreat you, Sir, let us walk out of your labyrinth here, and look; I dare say we shall find this poor man somewhere or other, talking seriously with his wife, and teaching her already something of religion. I began to be of the same mind; so we went out together; and I carried him a way which none knew but myself, and where the trees were so thick set, as that it was not easy to see through the thicket of leaves, and far harder to see in, than to see out; when coming to the edge of the wood, I saw *Atkins*, and his tawny savage wife, sitting under the shade of a bush, very eager in discourse: I stoppped short, till my clergyman came up to me; and then, having shewed him where they were, we stood and looked very steadily at them a good while.

We observed him very earnest with her, pointing up to the sun, and to every quarter of the heavens; then down to the earth, then out to the sea, then to himself, then to her, to the woods, to the trees. Now, says my clergyman, you see my words are made good; the man preaches to her; mark him; now he is telling her that our God has made him, and her, and the heavens, the earth, the sea, the woods, the trees, &c. I believe he is, said I. Immediately we perceived *Will Atkins* start up upon his feet, fall down upon his knees, and lift up both his hands; we supposed he said something, but we could not hear him: it was too far off for that: he did not
continue

continue kneeling half a minute, but comes and sits down again by his wife, and talks to her again. We perceived then the woman very attentive ; but whether she said any thing or no, we could not tell. While the poor fellow was upon his knees, I could see the tears run plentifully down my clergyman's cheeks ; and I could hardly forbear myself ; but it was a great affliction to us both, that we were not near enough to hear any thing that passed between them.

Well, however, we could come no nearer, for fear of disturbing them : so we resolved to see an end of this piece of still conversation ; and it spoke loud enough to us, without the help of voice. He sat down again, as I have said, close by her, and talked again earnestly to her ; and two or three times we could see him embrace her passionately ; another time we saw him take out his handkerchief, and wipe her eyes, and then kiss her again, with a kind of transport very unusual ; and after several of these things, we saw him on a sudden jump up again, and lend her his hand to help her up ; when immediately leading her by the hand a step or two, they both kneeled down together, and continued so about two minutes.

My friend could bear it no longer, but cries out aloud, *St. Paul, St. Paul!* behold he prayeth!—I was afraid *Atkins* would hear him ; therefore I intreated him to withhold himself awhile, that we might see an end of the scene, which to me, I must confess, was the most affecting, and yet the most agreeable, that ever I saw in my life. Well, he strove with himself, and contained himself for a

while, but was in such raptures of joy to think that the poor heathen woman was become a Christian, that he was not able to contain himself; he wept several times: then throwing up his hands, and crossing his breast, said over several things ejaculatory, and by way of giving God thanks for so miraculous a testimony of the success of our endeavours: some he spoke softly, and I could not well hear; others audibly; some in *Latin*, some in *French*; then two or three times the tears of joy would interrupt him, that he could not speak at all. But I begged that he would compose himself, and let us more narrowly and fully observe what was before us, which he did for a time, and the scene was not ended there yet; for, after the poor man and his wife were risen again from their knees, we observed he stood talking still eagerly to her; and we observed by her motion that she was greatly affected with what he said, by her frequent lifting up her hands, laying her hand to her breast, and such other postures, as usually express the greatest seriousness and attention: This continued about half a quarter of an hour, and then they walked away too; so that we could see no more of them in that situation.

I took this interval to talk with my clergyman: and first, I told him, I was glad to see the particulars we had both been witnesses to; that though I was hard enough of belief in such cases, yet that I began to think it was all very sincere here, both in the man and his wife, however ignorant they both might be; and I hoped such a beginning would have yet a more happy end: and who knows, said I, but these two may in time, by instruction and ex-
ample,

ample, work upon some of the others? Some of them! said he, turning quick upon me, ay, upon all of them: depend upon it, if those two savages (for *he* has been but little better, as you relate it) should embrace Jesus Christ, they will never leave till they work upon all the rest; for true religion is naturally communicative; and he that is once made a Christian will never leave a pagan behind him, if he can help it. I owned it was a most Christian principle to think so, and a testimony of a true zeal, as well as a generous heart in him. But, my friend, said I, will you give me liberty to start one difficulty here? I cannot tell how to object the least thing against that affectionate concern which you shew for the turning the poor people from their paganism to the Christian religion; but how does this comfort you, while these people are, in your account, out of the pale of the Catholic church, without which, you believe, there is no salvation; so that you esteem these but heretics still; and, for other reasons, as effectually lost as the pagans themselves?

To this he answered with abundance of candour and Christian charity, thus: Sir, I am a Catholic of the *Roman* church, and a priest of the order of St. *Benedict*, and I embrace all the principles of the *Roman* faith: But yet, if you will believe me, and this I do not speak in compliment to you, or in respect to my circumstances, and your civilities; I say, nevertheless, I do not look upon you, who call yourselves reformed, without some charity: I dare not say, tho' I know it is our opinion in general; yet I dare not say, that you cannot be saved; I will by no means limit the mercy of Christ, so far as to think that he

cannot receive you into the bosom of his church, in a manner, to us, imperceivable, and which, it is impossible for us to know; and I hope you have the same charity for us: I pray daily for your being all restored to Christ's church, by whatsoever methods he, who is all wise, is pleased to direct. In the mean time, sure, you will allow it to consist with me, as a *Roman*, to distinguish far between a Protestant and a Pagan: between him that calls on Jesus Christ, though in a way which I do not think is according to the true faith; and a savage, a barbarian, that knows no God, no Christ, no Redeemer at all: And if you are not within the pale of the Catholic church, we hope you are nearer being restored to it, than those that know nothing at all of God, or his church. I rejoice, therefore, when I see this poor man, who, you say, has been a profligate, and almost a murderer, kneel down and pray to Jesus Christ, as we suppose he did, though not fully enlightened; believing that God, from whom every such work proceeds, will sensibly touch his heart, and bring him to the further knowledge of the truth in his own time: and if God shall influence this poor man to convert and instruct the ignorant savage his wife, I can never believe that he shall be cast away himself: and have I not reason then to rejoice, the nearer any are brought to the knowledge of Christ, though they may not be brought quite home into the bosom of the Catholic church, just at the time when I may desire it; leaving it to the goodness of Christ to perfect his work in his own time, and his own way? Certainly I would rejoice, if all the savages in *America* were brought, like this
poor

poor woman, to pray to God, though they were to be all Protestants at first, rather than they should continue pagans and heathens ; firmly believing, that he who had bestowed that first light upon them, would farther illuminate them with a beam of his heavenly grace, and bring them into the pale of his church, when he should see good.

I was astonished at the sincerity and temper of this truly pious Papist, as much as I was oppressed by the power of his reasoning : and it presently occurred to my thoughts, that if such a temper was universal, we might be all Catholic Christians, whatever church or particular profession we joined to, or joined in ; that a spirit of charity would soon work us all up into right principles ; and, in a word, as he thought that the like charity would make us all Catholics, so I told him, I believed, had all the members of his church the like moderation, they would soon be all Protestants : And there we left that part, for we never disputed at all.

However, I talked to him another way ; and, taking him by the hand, My friend, said I, I wish all the clergy of the *Roman* church were blessed with such moderation, and an equal share of your charity : I am entirely of your opinion ; but I must tell you, that if you should preach such doctrine in *Spain* or *Italy*, they would put you into the inquisition.

It may be so, said he ; I know not what they might do in *Spain* and *Italy* ; but I will not say they would be the better Christians for that severity ; for I am sure there is no heresy in too much charity.

Well,

Well, as *Will Atkins* and his wife were gone, our business there was over : so we went back our own way ; and when we came back, we found them waiting to be called in. Observing this, I asked my clergyman if we should discover to him that we had seen him under the bush, or no ; and it was his opinion we should not ; but that we should talk to him first, and hear what he would say to us : so we called him in alone, nobody being in the place but ourselves ; and I began with him thus :

Will Atkins, said I, prithee what education had you ? What was your father ?

W. A. A better man than ever I shall be. Sir, my father was a clergyman.

R. C. What education did he give you ?

W. A. He would have taught me well, Sir ; but I despised all education, instruction, or correction, like a beast as I was.

R. C. It is true, *Solomon* says “ he that despiseth “ reproof is brutish.”

W. A. Ay, Sir, I was brutish indeed ; I murdered my father : for God’s sake, Sir, talk no more about that, Sir ; I murdered my poor father.

Priest. Ha ? a murderer !

[Here the priest started (for I interpreted every word as he spoke it) and looked pale : It seems he believed that *Will* had really killed his own father.]

R. C. No, no, Sir, I do not understand him so. *Will Atkins*, explain yourself : you did not kill your father, did you, with your own hands ?

W. A. No, Sir ; I did not cut his throat ; but I cut the thread of all his comforts, and shortened his

his days ; I broke his heart by the most ungrateful, unnatural return, for the most tender, affectionate treatment that ever father gave, or child could receive.

R. C. Well, I did not ask you about your father, to extort this confession ; I pray God give you repentance for it, and forgive you that, and all your other sins : but I asked you, because I see that though you have not much learning, yet you are not so ignorant as some are, in things that are good ; that you have known more of religion a great deal than you have practised.

W. A. Though you, Sir, did not extort the confession that I make about my father, conscience does ; and whenever we come to look back upon our lives, the sins against our indulgent parents are certainly the first that touch us ; the wounds they make lie deepest ; and the weight they leave will lie heaviest upon the mind of all the sins we can commit.

R. C. You talk too feelingly and sensible for me, *Atkins* ; I cannot bear it.

W. A. You bear it, master ! I dare say you know nothing of it.

R. C. Yes, *Atkins* ; every shore, every hill, nay, I may say, every tree in this island, is witness to the anguish of my soul, for my ingratitude, and base usage of a good tender father ; a father much like your's, by your description ; and I murdered my father as well as you, *Will Atkins* ; but think, for all that, my repentance is short of your's too, by a great deal.

[I would have said more, if I could have restrained my passions ; but I thought this poor man's repentance was

was so much sincerer than mine ; that I was going to leave off the discourse, and retire, for I was surpris'd with what he said ; and thought that instead of my going about to teach and instruct him, the man was made a teacher and instructor to me, in a most surprising and unexpected manner.]

I laid all this before the young clergyman, who was greatly affected with it, and said to me, Did I not say, Sir, that when this man was converted, he would preach to us all ? I tell you, Sir, if this one man be made a true penitent, here will be no need of me ; he will make Christians of all in the island. But having a little compos'd myself, I renewed my discourse with *Will Atkins*.

But, *Will*, said I, how comes the sense of this matter to touch you just now ?

W. A. Sir, you have set me about a work that has struck a dart through my very soul ; I have been talking about God and religion to my wife, in order, as you directed me, to make a Christian of her ; and she has preached such a sermon to me as I shall never forget while I live.

R. C. No, no ; it is not your wife has preached to you : but when you were moving religious arguments to her, conscience has flung them back upon you.

W. A. Ay, Sir, with such a force as is not to be resisted.

R. C. Pray, *Will*, let us know what pass'd between you and your wife ; for I know something of it already.

W. A. Sir, it is impossible to give you a full account of it : I am too full to hold it, and yet have
no

no tongue to exprefs it: but let her have faid what ſhe will, and though I cannot give you an account of it, this I can tell you of it, that I reſolve to amend and reform my life.

R. C. But tell us ſome of it. How did you begin, *Will*? For this has been an extraordinary caſe, that is certain; ſhe has preached a ſermon, indeed, if ſhe has wrought this upon you.

W. A. Why, I firſt told her the nature of our laws about marriage, and what the reaſons were that men and women were obliged to enter into ſuch compacts, as it was neither in the power of one or other to break; that otherwiſe, order and juſtice could not be maintained, and men would run from their wives, and abandon their children, mix confuſedly with one another, and neither families be kept entire, or inheritances be ſettled by a legal deſcent.

R. C. You talk like a civilian, *Will*. Could you make her underſtand what you meant by inheritance and families? They know no ſuch thing among the ſavages, but marry any how, without any regard to relation, conſanguinity, or family; brother and ſiſter, nay, as I have been told, even the father and daughter, and the ſon and the mother.

W. A. I believe, Sir, you are miſinformed;—my wife aſſures me of the contrary, and that they abhor it. Perhaps, for any further relations, they may not be ſo exact as we are; but ſhe tells me they never touch one another in the near relations you ſpeak of.

R. C. Well,

R. C. Well, what did she say to what you told her?

W. A. She said she liked it very well; and it was much better than in her country.

R. C. But did you tell her what marriage was?

W. A. Ay, ay, there began all our dialogue. I asked her, If she would be married to me our way? She asked me, What way that was? I told her marriage was appointed of God; and here we had a strange talk together indeed, as ever man and wife had, I believe.

[N. B. This dialogue between *W. Atkins* and his wife, as I took it down in writing, just after he told it me, was as follows :

Wife. Appointed by your God! Why, have you a God in your country?

W. A. Yes, my dear, God is in every country?

Wife. No your God in my country; my country have the great old *Benamuckee* God.

W. A. Child, I am very unfit to shew you who God is; God is in heaven, and made the heaven and the earth, the sea, and all that in them is.

Wife. No makee de earth; no you God makee de earth; no make my country.

[*W. A.* laughed a little at her expression of God not making her country.]

Wife. No laugh: Why laugh me? This no ting to laugh.

[He was justly reprov'd by his wife; for she was more serious than he at first.]

W. A. That's

W. A. That's true indeed ; I will not laugh any more, my dear.

Wife. Why you say, you God make all ?

W. A. Yes, child, our God made the whole world, and you, and me, and all things ; for he is the only true God ; there is no God but he ; he lives for ever in heaven.

Wife. Why you no tell me long ago ?

W. A. That's true indeed ; but I have been a wicked wretch, and have not only forgotten to acquaint thee with any thing before, but have lived without God in the world myself.

Wife. What have you de great God in your country, you no know him ? No say O to him ? No do good ting for him ? That no impossible !

W. A. It is too true though, for all that : we live as if there was no God in heaven, or that he had no power on earth.

Wife. But why God let you do so ? Why he no makee you good live ?

W. A. It is all our own fault.

Wife. But you say me, he is great, much great, have much great power ; can make kill when he will : why he no makee kill when you no serve him ? No say O to him ? No be good mans ?

W. A. That is true ; he might strike me dead, and I ought to expect it ; for I have been a wicked wretch, that is true : but God is merciful, and does not deal with us as we deserve.

Wife. But then, do not you tell God tankee for that too ?

W. A. No, indeed ; I have not thanked God for his mercy, any more than I have feared God for his power.

Wife.

Wife. Then you God no God ; me no think, believe he be such one, great much power, strong ; no makee kill you, though you makee him much angry ?

W. A. What ! will my wicked life hinder you from believing in God ! What a dreadful creature am I ! And what a sad truth is it, that the horrid lives of Christians hinder the conversion of heathens !

Wife. How me tink you have great much God up there, (*she points up to heaven,*) and yet no do well, no do good ting ? Can he tell ? Sure he no tell what you do.

W. A. Yes, yes, he knows and sees all things ; he hears us speak, sees what we do, knows what we think, though we do not speak.

Wife. What ! he no hear you swear, curse, speak the great damn ?

W. A. Yes, yes, he hears it all.

Wife. Where be then the muchee great power strong ?

W. A. He is merciful ; that is all we can say for it ; and this proves him to be the true God : He is God, and not man ; and therefore we are not consumed.

[Here *Will Atkins* told us, he was struck with horror to think how he could tell his wife so clearly, that God sees, and hears, and knows the secret thoughts of the heart, and all that we do ; and yet that he had dared to do all the vile things he had done.]

Wife. Merciful ! what you call dat ?

W. A. He is our father and maker ; and he pities and spares us.

Wife. So then he never makee kill, never angry when you do wicked ; then he no good himself, or no great able.

W. A. Yes, yes, my dear ; he is infinitely good, and infinitely great, and able to punish too ; and sometimes to shew his justice and vengeance, he lets fly his anger to destroy sinners, and make examples ; many are cut off in their sins.

Wife. But no makee kill you yet ; then he tell you, may be, that he no makee you kill, so you make de bargain with him, you do bad ting, he no be angry at you, when he be angry at other mans ?

W. A. No, indeed, my sins are all presumptions upon his goodness ; and he would be infinitely just, if he destroyed me, as he has done other men.

Wife. Well, and yet no kill, no makee you dead ! What you say to him for that ? You no tell him tankee for all that too !

W. A. I am an unthankful, ungrateful dog, that is true.

Wife. Why he no makee you much good better ? You say he makee you.

W. A. He made me as he made all the world ; 'tis I have deformed myself, and abused his goodness, and have made myself an abominable wretch.

Wife. I wish you makee God know me ; I no makee him angry ; I no do bad wicked ting.

[Here *Will Atkins* said his heart sunk within him, to hear a poor, untaught creature, desire to be taught to know God ; and he such a wicked wretch, that he could not say one word to her about God, but what the reproach of his own carriage would make

most irrational to her to believe ; nay, that already she could not believe in God, because he that was so wicked was not destroyed.]

W. A. My dear, you mean you wish I could teach you to know God, not God to know you ; for he knows you already, and every thought in your heart.

Wife. Why then he know what I saw to you now ; he know me wish to know him ; how shall me know who makee me ?

W. A. Poor creature, he must teach thee, I cannot teach thee ; I'll pray to him to teach thee to know him ; and to forgive me, that I am unworthy to teach thee.

[The poor fellow was in such an agony at her desiring him to make her know God, and her wishing to know him, that, he said, he fell down on his knees before her, and prayed to God to enlighten her mind with the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ, and to pardon his sins, and accept of his being the unworthy instrument of instructing her in the principles of religion ; after which he sat down by her again, and their dialogue went on.]

N. B. This was the time when we saw him kneel down and lift up his hands.

Wife. What you put down the knee for ? What you hold up the hand for ? What you say ? Who you speak to ? What is that ?

W. A. My dear, I bow my knees in token of my submission to him that made me : I said O to him, as you call it, and as you say your old men do to their idol *Benamuckee* ; that is, I prayed to him.

Wife.

Wife. What you say O to him for?

W. A. I prayed to him to open your eyes and your understanding, that you may know him, and be accepted by him.

Wife. Can he do that too?

W. A. Yes, he can; he can do all things.

Wife. But he no hear what you say?

W. A. Yes, he has bid us pray to him; and promised to hear us.

Wife. Bid you pray? When he bid you? How he bid you? What you hear him speak?

W. A. No, we do not hear him speak; but he has revealed himself many ways to us.

[Here he was at a great loss to make her understand that God had revealed himself to us by his word; and what his word was; but at last he told it her thus:

W. A. God has spoken to some good men in former days, even from heaven, by plain words; and God has inspired good men, by his Spirit; and they have written all his laws down in a book.

Wife. Me no understand that: where is book?

W. A. Alas! my poor creature, I have not this book; but I hope I shall, one time or other, get it for you to read it.

[Here he embraced her with great affection; but with inexpressible grief, that he had not a bible.]

Wife. But how you makee me know, that God teachee them to write that book?

W. A. By the same rule that we know him to be God.

Wife. What rule; what way you know?

W. A. Because he teaches and commands nothing but what is good, righteous, and holy ; and tends to make us perfectly good, as well as perfectly happy ; and because he forbids, and commands us to avoid all that is wicked, that is evil in itself, or evil in its consequences.

Wife. That me would understand, that me fain see ; if he reward all good thing, punish all wicked thing, he teachee all good thing, forbid all wicked thing, he makee all thing, he give all thing ; he hear me when I say O to him, as you go to do just now ; he makee me good, if I wish be good ; he spare me, no makee kill me, when I no be good ; all this you say he do ; yes, he be great God ; me take, think, believe, him be great God ; me say O to him too, with you, my dear.

Here the poor man said he could forbear no longer ; but raising her up, made her kneel by him ; and he prayed to God aloud, to instruct her in the knowledge of himself, by his Spirit ; and that by some good providence, if possible, she might some time or other come to have a bible, that she might read the word of God, and be taught by him to know him.

[This was the time that we saw him lift her up by the hand, and saw him kneel down by her, as above.]

They had several other discourses, it seems, after this, too long to set down here ; and particularly she made him promise, that since he confessed his own life had been a wicked, abominable course of provocation against God, that he would reform it, and not make God angry any more, lest he should
 2 make

make him dead, as she called it, and then she should be left alone, and never be taught to know this God better; and lest he should be miserable, as he had told her wicked men should be after death.

This was a strange account, and very affecting to us both, but particularly the young clergyman: he was indeed wonderfully surpris'd with it; but under the greatest affliction imaginable, that he could not talk to her; that he could not speak *English* to make her understand him; and as she spoke but very broken *English*, he could not understand her. However, he turned himself to me, and told me, that he believed there must be more to do with this woman than to marry her; I did not understand him at first; but at length he explained himself; viz. That she ought to be baptized.

I agreed with him in that part readily, and was for going about it presently: No, no; hold, Sir, said he, though I would have her baptized by all means, yet I must observe, that *Will Atkins*, her husband, has indeed brought her, in a wonderful manner, to be willing to embrace a religious life; and has given her just ideas of the being of a God, of his power, justice, and mercy; yet I desire to know of him, if he has said any thing to her of Jesus Christ, and of the salvation of sinners; of the nature of faith in him; and the redemption by him; of the holy Spirit, the resurrection, the last judgment, and a future state.

I called *Will Atkins* again, and asked him; but the poor fellow fell immediately into tears, and told us, he had said something to her of all those things, but that he was himself so wicked a creature, and his

own conscience so reproached him with his horrid, ungodly life, that he trembled at the apprehensions, that her knowledge of him should lessen the attention she should give to those things, and make her rather condemn religion, than receive it: but he was assured, he said, that her mind was so disposed to receive due impressions of all those things, that if I would but discourse with her, she would make it appear to my satisfaction, that my labour would not be lost upon her.

Accordingly I called her in, and placing myself as interpreter, between my religious priest and the woman, I entreated him to begin with her: but sure such a sermon was never preached by a popish priest in these latter ages of the world; and, as I told him, I thought he had all the zeal, all the knowledge, all the sincerity of a Christian, without the errors of a *Roman* Catholic; and that I took him to be such a clergyman as the *Roman* bishops were, before the church of *Rome* assumed spiritual sovereignty over the consciences of men.

In a word, he brought the poor woman to embrace the knowledge of Christ, and of redemption by him, not with wonder and astonishment only, as she did the first notions of a God, but with joy and faith, with an affection, and a surprising degree of understanding, scarce to be imagined, much less to be expressed; and at her own request she was baptized.

When he was preparing to baptize her, I entreated him, that he would perform that office with some caution, that the man might not perceive he was of the *Roman* church, if possible; because of
other

other ill consequences which might attend a difference among us in that very religion which we were instructing the other in. He told me, that as he had no consecrated chapel, nor proper things for the office, I should see he would do it in a manner, that I should not know by it that he was a *Roman Catholic* myself, if I had not known it before: and so he did; for saying only some words over to himself in *Latin*, which I could not understand, he poured a whole dish full of water upon the woman's head, pronouncing in *French* very loud, *Mary*; which was the name her husband desired me to give her, for I was her god-father, *I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*; so that none could know any thing by it, what religion he was of: he gave the benediction afterwards in *Latin*; but either *Will Atkins* did not know but it was in *French*, or else did not take notice of it at that time.

As soon as this was over, he married them; and after the marriage was over, he turned himself to *Will Atkins*, and in a very affectionate manner exhorted him not only to persevere in that good disposition he was in, but to support the convictions that were upon him, by a resolution to reform his life: told him, it was in vain to say he repented, if he did not forsake his crimes; represented to him, how God had honoured him with being the instrument of bringing his wife to the knowledge of the Christian religion; and that he should be careful he did not dishonour the grace of God; and that, if he did, he would see the heathen a better Christian than himself;

himself; the savage converted, and the instrument cast away!

He said a great many good things to them both, and then recommended them, in a few words, to God's goodness; gave them the benediction again, repeating every thing to them in *English*: And thus ended the ceremony. I think it was the most pleasant, agreeable day to me, that ever I passed in my whole life.

But my clergyman had not done yet; his thoughts hung continually upon the conversion of the 37 savages? and fain he would have staid upon the island to have undertaken it: but I convinced him, First, that his undertaking was impracticable in itself; and secondly, that, perhaps, I could put it into a way of being done, in his absence, to his satisfaction; of which by and by.

Having thus brought the affair of the island to a narrow compass, I was preparing to go on board the ship, when the young man, whom I had taken out of the famished ship's company, came to me, and told me, he understood I had a clergyman with me, and that I had caused the *Englishmen* to be married to the savages, whom they called wives; that he had a match too, which he desired might be finished before I went, between two Christians; which he hoped would not be disagreeable to me.

I knew this must be the young woman who was his mother's servant, for there was no other Christian woman on the island; so I began to persuade him not to do any thing of that kind rashly, or because he found himself in this solitary circumstance: I represented, that he had some considerable substance in
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the world, and good friends, as I understood by himself, and by his maid also; that the maid was not only poor, and a servant, but was unequal to him, she being twenty-six or twenty-seven years old, and he not above seventeen or eighteen; that he might very probably, with my assistance, make a remove from this wilderness, and come into his own country again; and that then it would be a thousand to one but he would repent his choice; and the dislike of that circumstance might be disadvantageous to both. I was going to say more, but he interrupted me, smiling; and told me, with a great deal of modesty, that I mistook in my guesses; that he had nothing of that kind in his thoughts, his present circumstances being melancholy and disconsolate enough; and he was very glad to hear, that I had some thoughts of putting them in a way to see their own country again; and that nothing should have set him upon staying there, but that the voyage I was going was so exceeding long and hazardous, and would carry him quite out of the reach of all his friends; that he had nothing to desire of me, but that I would settle him in some little property in the island where he was; give him a servant or two, and some few necessaries, and he would settle himself here like a planter, waiting the good time when, if ever I returned to *England*, I would redeem him, and hoped I would not be unmindful of him when I came to *England*; that he would give me some letters to his friends in *London*, to let them know how good I had been to him, and what part of the world, and what circumstances I had left him in; and he promised me, that whenever I redeemed him, the plantation,

tation, and all the improvements he had made upon it, let the value be what it would, should be wholly mine.

His discourse was very prettily delivered, considering his youth ; and was the more agreeable to me, because he told me positively the match was not for himself. I gave him all possible assurances, that if I lived to come safe to *England*, I would deliver his letters, and do his business effectually ; and that he might depend I would never forget the circumstances I left him in ; but still I was impatient to know who was the person to be married : Upon which he told me it was my *Jack* of all Trades, and his maid *Susan*.

I was most agreeably surpris'd when he named the match ; for indeed I had thought it very suitable. The character of that man I have given already ; and as for the maid, she was a very honest, modest, sober, and religious young woman ; had a very good share of sense ; was agreeable enough in her person ; spoke very handsomely, and to the purpose ; always with decency and good manners, and not backward to speak when any thing required it, or impertinently forward to speak when it was not her business ; very handy and housewifely in any thing that was before her ; an excellent manager, and fit indeed to have been governess to the whole island ; she knew very well how to behave herself to all kind of folks she had about her, and to better, if she had found any there.

The match being propos'd in this manner, we married them the same day ; and, as I was father at the altar, as I may say, and gave her away, so I
gave

gave her a portion ; for I appointed her and her husband a handsome large space of ground for their plantation ; and, indeed, this match, and the proposal the young gentleman made to me, to give him a small property in the island, put me upon parceling it out among them, that they might not quarrel afterwards about their situation.

This sharing out the land to them I left to *Will Atkins*, who, indeed, was now grown a most sober, grave, managing fellow ; perfectly reformed, exceeding pious and religious ; and, as far as I may be allowed to speak positively in such a case, I verily believe, was a true sincere penitent.

He divided things so justly, and so much to every one's satisfaction, that they only desired one general writing under my hand for the whole ; which I caused to be drawn up, and signed and sealed to them, setting out the bounds and situation of every man's plantation, and testifying, that I gave them thereby, severally, a right to the whole possession and inheritance of the respective plantations or farms, with their improvements, to them and their heirs ; reserving all the rest of the island as my own property, and a certain rent for every particular plantation, after eleven years, if I, or any one from me, or in my name, came to demand it, producing an attested copy of the same writing.

As to the government and laws among them, I told them, I was not capable of giving them better rules than they were able to give themselves ; only made them promise me, to live in love and good neighbourhood with one another : And so I prepared to leave them.

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One thing I must not omit ; and that is, that being now settled in a kind of commonwealth among themselves, and having much business in hand, it was but odd to have seven-and-thirty *Indians* live in a nook of the island, independent, and, indeed, unemployed ; for, excepting the providing themselves food, which they had difficulty enough in doing sometimes, they had no manner of business or property to manage : I proposed therefore to the governor *Spaniard*, that he should go to them with *Friday's* father, and propose to them to remove, and either plant for themselves, or take them into their several families as servants, to be maintained for their labour, but without being absolute slaves ; for I would not admit them to make them slaves by force, by any means, because they had their liberty given by capitulation, and, as it were, articles of surrender, which they ought not to break.

They most willingly embraced the proposal, and came all very cheerfully along with him ; so we allotted them land and plantations, which three or four accepted of, but all the rest chose to be employed as servants in the several families we had settled ; and thus my colony was in a manner settled, as follows : The *Spaniards* possessed my original habitation, which was the capital city, and extended their plantation all along the side of the brook, which made the creek that I have so often described, as far as my bower ; and as they increased their culture, it went always eastward ; the *English* lived in the north-east part, where *Will Atkins* and his comrades began, and came on southward and south-west, towards the back part of the *Spaniards* ; and every

every plantation had a great addition of land to take in, if they found occasion; so that they need not jostle one another for want of room.

All the west end of the island was left uninhabited, that if any of the savages should come on shore there, only for their usual customary barbarities, they might come and go; if they disturbed nobody, nobody would disturb them; and no doubt but they were often ashore, and went away again; for I never heard that the planters were ever attacked and disturbed any more.

It now came into my thoughts, that I had hinted to my friend the clergyman, that the work of converting the savages might, perhaps, be set on foot in his absence, to his satisfaction; and I told him, that now I thought it was put in a fair way; for the savages being thus divided among the Christians, if they would but every one of them do their part with those which came under their hands, I hoped it might have a very good effect.

He agreed presently in that: If, said he, they will do their part; but how, says he, shall we obtain that of them? I told him, we would call them all together, and leave it in charge with them, or go to them one by one, which he thought best; so we divided it; he to speak to the *Spaniards*, who were all Papists; and I to the *English*, who were all Protestants; and we recommended it earnestly to them, and made them promise, that they would never make any distinction of Papist or Protestant, in their exhorting the savages to turn Christians; but teach them the general knowledge of the true God, and of their Saviour

viour Jesus Christ; and they likewise promised us, that they would never have any differences or disputes, one with another, about religion.

When I came to *Will Atkins's* house (I may call it so; for such a house, or such a piece of basket-work, I believe was not standing in the world again!) I say, when I came thither, I found the young woman I have mentioned above, and *William Atkins's* wife, were become intimates; and this prudent, religious young woman, had perfected the work *Will Atkins* had begun; and though it was not above four days after what I have related, yet the new-baptized savage woman was made such a Christian, as I have seldom heard of any like her, in all my observation or conversation in the world.

It came next into my mind, in the morning, before I went to them, that among all the needful things I had to leave with them, I had not left a bible; in which I shewed myself less considering for them, than my good friend the widow was for me, when she sent me the cargo of 100l. from *Lisbon*, where she packed up three bibles and a prayer-book. However, the good woman's charity had a greater extent than ever she imagined; for they were reserved for the comfort and instruction of those that made much better use of them than I had done.

I took one of the bibles in my pocket, and when I came to *William Atkins's* tent, or house, I found the young woman, and *Atkins's* baptized wife, had been discoursing of religion together; (for *William Atkins* told it me, with a great deal of joy.) I asked, if they were together now? And he said yes; so I went into the house, and he with me, and we found them
together,

together, very earnest in discourse : O, Sir, says *William Atkins*, when God has sinners to reconcile to himself, and aliens to bring home, he never wants a messenger : My wife has got a new instructor ; I knew I was unworthy, as I was incapable of that work ; that young woman has been sent hither from Heaven ; she is enough to convert a whole island of savages. The young woman blushed, and rose up to go away, but I desired her to sit still ; I told her she had a good work upon her hands, and I hoped God would bless her in it.

We talked a little, and I did not perceive they had any book among them, though I did not ask ; but I put my hand in my pocket, and pulled out my bible ; Here, said I to *Atkins*, I have brought you an assistant, that, perhaps, you had not before. The man was so confounded, that he was not able to speak for some time ; but recovering himself, he takes it with both hands, and, turning to his wife, Here, my dear, says he, did not I tell you, our God, though he lives above, could hear what we said ? Here is the book I prayed for, when you and I kneeled down under the bush ; now God has heard us and sent it. When he had said thus, the man fell into such transports of a passionate joy, that between the joy of having it, and giving God thanks for it, the tears ran down his face like a child that was crying.

The woman was surprized, and was like to have run into a mistake, that none of us were aware of ; for she firmly believed God had sent the book upon her husband's petition : It is true, that providentially it was so, and might be taken so in a consequent sense ;

sense ; but I believed it would have been no difficult matter, at that time, to have persuaded the poor woman to have believed, that an express messenger came from heaven, on purpose to bring that individual book ; but it was too serious a matter to suffer any delusion to take place : So I turned to the young woman, and told her, we did not desire to impose upon the new convert, in her first and more ignorant understanding of things ; and begged her to explain to her, that God may be very properly said to answer our petitions, when in the course of his Providence, such things are, in a particular manner, brought to pass, as we petitioned for ; but we do not expect returns from Heaven, in a miraculous and particular manner ; and that it is our mercy it is not so.

This the young woman did afterwards effectually ; so that there was, I assure you, no priestcraft used here ; and I should have thought it one of the most unjustifiable frauds in the world, to have had it so : but the surprize of joy upon *Will Atkins*, is really not to be expressed ; and there, we may be sure, was no delusion. Sure no man was ever more thankful in the world for any thing of its kind, than he was for this bible ; and I believe, never any man was glad of a bible from a better principle ; and though he had been a most profligate creature, desperate, headstrong, outrageous, furious, and wicked to a great degree ; yet this man is a standing rule to us all, for the well instructing children ; viz. That parents should never give over to teach and instruct, or ever despair of the success of their endeavours, let the children be ever so obstinate, refractory, or, to appear-

appearance, insensible of instruction ; for if ever God in his Providence touches the consciences of such, the force of their education returns upon them, and the early instruction of parents is not lost, though it may have been many years laid asleep ; but, some time or other, they may find the benefit of it.

Thus it was with this poor man. However ignorant he was, or divested of religion and Christian knowledge, he found he had some to do with now more ignorant than himself ; and that the least part of the instruction of his good father, that could now come to his mind, was of use to him.

Among the rest it occurred to him, he said, how his father used to insist much upon the inexpressible value of the bible ; the privilege and blessing of it to nations, families, and persons ; but he never entertained the least notion of the worth of it till now ; when, being to talk to heathens, savages, and barbarians, he wanted the help of the written oracle for his assistance.

The young woman was very glad of it also, for the present occasion, though she had one ; and so had the youth on board our ship, among the goods which were not yet brought on shore. And now, having said so many things of this young woman, I cannot omit telling one story more of her and myself, which has something in it very informing and remarkable.

I have related to what extremity the poor young woman was reduced ; how her mistress was starved to death, and did die, on board that unhappy ship we met at sea ; and how the whole ship's

company being reduced to the last extremity, the gentlewoman, and her son, and this maid, were first hardly used, as to provisions ; and, at last, totally neglected and starved ; that is to say, brought to the last extremity of hunger.

One day, being discoursing with her upon the extremities they suffered, I asked her, if she could describe, by what she felt, what it was to starve, and how it appeared ? She told me, she believed she could ; and she told her tale very distinctly thus :

First, Sir, said she, we had for some days fared exceeding hard, and suffered very great hunger ; but now, at last, we were wholly without food of any kind, except sugar, and a little wine, and a little water. The first day after I had received no food at all, I found myself, towards evening, first empty and sickish at my stomach ; and nearer night, mightily inclined to yawning, and sleepy ; I laid down on a couch in the great cabin, to sleep ; and slept about three hours, and awaked a little refreshed, having taken a glass of wine when I lay down : after being about three hours awake, it being about five o'clock in the morning, I found myself empty, and my stomach sickish again, and laid down again ; but could not sleep at all, being very faint and ill : and thus I continued all the second day, with a strange variety ; first hungry, then sick again, with reachings to vomit : the second night, being obliged to go to bed again, without any food more than a draught of fair water, and being asleep, I dreamed I was at *Barbadoes*, and that the market was mightily stocked with provisions ; that I bought some for my mistress, and went and dined very heartily.

I thought my stomach was full after this, as it would have been after, or at, a good dinner; but when I waked, I was exceedingly sunk in my spirits to find myself in the extremity of famine: the last glass of wine we had, I drank, and put sugar into it, because of its having some spirit to supply nourishment; but there being no substance in the stomach for the digesting office to work upon, I found the only effect of the wine was, to raise disagreeable fumes from the stomach into the head; and I lay, as they told me, stupid and senseless, as one drunk, for some time.

The third day in the morning, after a night of strange and confused inconsistent dreams, and rather dozing than sleeping, I awaked, ravenous and furious with hunger; and I question, had not my understanding returned, and conquered it; I say, I question whether, if I had been a mother, and had had a little child with me, its life would have been safe or no.

This lasted about three hours; during which time I was twice raging mad, as any creature in *Bedlam*, as my young master told me, and as he can now inform you.

In one of these fits of lunacy, or distraction, whether by the motion of the ship, or some slip of my foot, I know not; I fell down, and struck my face against the corner of a pallet-bed, in which my mistress lay; and with the blow the blood gushed out of my nose; and the cabin-boy bringing me a little basin, I sat down and bled into it a great deal; and as the blood ran from me, I came to myself; and the

violence of the flame, or the fever I was in, abated, and so did the ravenous part of the hunger.

Then I grew sick, and reached to vomit, but could not; for I had nothing in my stomach to bring up: after I had bled some time, I swooned, and they all believed I was dead; but I came to myself soon after, and then had a most dreadful pain in my stomach, not to be described; not like the cholic, but a gnawing eager pain for food; and, towards night, it went off with a kind of earnest wishing or longing for food; something like, as I suppose, the longing of a woman with child. I took another draught of water, with sugar in it, but my stomach loathed the sugar, and brought it all up again: Then I took a draught of water, without sugar, and that stayed with me; and I laid me down upon the bed, praying most heartily, that it would please God to take me away; and composing my mind in hopes of it, I slumbered awhile; and then waking, thought myself dying, being light with vapours from an empty stomach: I recommended my soul to God, and earnestly wished that somebody would throw me into the sea.

All this while my mistress lay by me, just, as I thought, expiring; but bore it with much more patience than I, and gave the last bit of bread she had to her child, my young master, who would not have taken it, but she obliged him to eat it; and, I believe, it saved his life.

Towards the morning, I slept again; and first, when I awaked, I fell into a violent passion of crying; and after that, had a second fit of violent hunger, so that I got up ravenous, and in a most dreadful

ful condition : Had my mistress been dead, as much as I loved her, I am certain I should have eaten a piece of her flesh with as much relish, and as unconcerned, as ever I did the flesh of any creature appointed for food ; and once or twice I was going to bite my own arm. At last, I saw the basin, in which was the blood I had bled at my nose the day before ; I ran to it, and swallowed it with such haste, and such a greedy appetite, as if I had wondered nobody had taken it before, and afraid it should be taken from me now.

Though after it was down the thoughts of it filled me with horror, yet it checked the fit of hunger ; and I drank a draught of fair water, and was composed and refreshed for some hours after it. This was the fourth day ; and thus I held it till towards night, when, within the compass of three hours, I had all these several circumstances over again, one after another ; *viz.* sick, sleepy, eagerly hungry, pain in the stomach, then ravenous again, then sick again, then lunatic, then crying, then ravenous again, and so every quarter of an hour ; and my strength wasted exceedingly. At night I laid me down, having no comfort, but in the hope that I should die before morning.

All this night I had no sleep, but the hunger was now turned into a disease ; and I had a terrible chollic and griping ; wind, instead of food, having found its way into the bowels ; and in this condition I lay till morning, when I was surprized a little with the cries and lamentations of my young master, who called out to me, that his mother was dead. I lifted

myself up a little, for I had not strength to rise, but found she was not dead, though she was able to give very little signs of life.

I had then such convulsions in my stomach, for want of some sustenance, that I cannot describe them; with such frequent throes and pangs of appetite, that nothing but the tortures of death can imitate; and this condition I was in, when I heard the seamen above cry out, A fail! a fail! and halloo and jump about as if they were distracted.

I was not able to get off from the bed, and my mistress much less; and my master was so sick, that I thought he had been expiring; so we could not open the cabin door, or get any account what it was that occasioned such a combustion; nor had we any conversation with the ship's company for two days, they having told us they had not a mouthful of any thing to eat in the ship; and they told us afterwards, they thought we had been dead.

It was this dreadful condition we were in when you were sent to save our lives; and how you found us, Sir, you know as well as I, and better too.

This was her own relation, and is such a distinct account of starving to death, as, I confess, I never met with, and was exceeding entertaining to me: I am the rather apt to believe it to be a true account, because the youth gave me an account of a good part of it; though I must own, not so distinct, and so feelingly as his maid; and the rather, because, it seems, his mother fed him at the price of her own life: but the poor maid, though her constitution being stronger than that of her mistress, who was in
years,

years, and a weakly woman too, she might struggle harder with it; I say, the poor maid might be supposed to feel the extremity something sooner than her mistress, who might be allowed to keep the last bits something longer than she parted with any to relieve the maid. No question, as the case is here related, if our ship, or some other, had not so providentially met them, a few days more would have ended all their lives, unless they had prevented it by eating one another; and even that, as their case stood, would have served them but a little while, they being 500 leagues from any land, or any possibility of relief, other than in the miraculous manner it happened.—But this is by the way; I return to my disposition of things among the people.

And first, it is to be observed here, that for many reasons, I did not think fit to let them know any thing of the sloop I had framed, and which I thought of setting up among them; for I found, at least at my first coming, such seeds of division among them, that I saw it plainly, had I set up the sloop, and left it among them, they would, upon very light disgust, have separated, and gone away from one another; or perhaps have turned pirates, and so made the island a den of thieves, instead of a plantation of sober and religious people, as I intended it to be; nor did I leave the two pieces of brass cannon that I had on board, or the two quarter deck guns, that my nephew took extraordinary, for the same reason: I thought they had enough to qualify them for a defensive war, against any that should invade them; but I was not to set them up for an offensive war, or to encourage

encourage them to go abroad to attack others, which, in the end, would only bring ruin and destruction upon themselves and all their undertakings: I reserved the sloop, therefore, and the guns, for their service another way, as I shall observe in its place.

I have now done with the island: I left them all in good circumstances, and in a flourishing condition, and went on board my ship again the fifth day of *May*, having been five-and-twenty days among them; and, as they were all resolved to stay upon the island till I came to remove them, I promised to send some further relief from the *Brasils*, if I could possibly find an opportunity; and particularly I promised to send them some cattle; such as sheep, hogs, and cows; for as to the two cows and calves which I brought from *England*, we had been obliged, by the length of our voyage, to kill them at sea, for want of hay to feed them.

The next day, giving them a salute of five guns at parting, we set sail, and arrived at the bay of *All Saints*, in the *Brasils*, in about twenty-two days; meeting nothing remarkable in our passage but this, That about three days after we sailed, being becalmed, and the current setting strong to the N. N. E. running, as it were, into a bay or gulph, on the land-side, we were driven something out of our course; and once or twice our men cried Land, to the westward; but whether it was the continent, or islands, we could not tell by any means.

But the third day, towards evening, the sea smooth and the weather calm, we saw the sea, as it were, covered, towards the land, with something very black,

black, not being able to discover what it was ; but, after some time, our chief mate going up the main shrouds a little way, and looking at them with a perspective, cried out, it was an army. I could not imagine what he meant by an army, and spoke a little hastily, calling the fellow a fool, or some such word ; Nay, Sir, says he, don't be angry, for it is an army, and a fleet too ; for I believe there are a thousand canoes, and you may see them paddle along, and they are coming towards us too apace, and full of men.

I was a little surpris'd then, indeed, and so was my nephew the captain ; for he had heard such terrible stories of them in the island, and having never been in those seas before, that he could not tell what to think of it, but said two or three times, we should all be devoured. I must confess, considering we were becalmed, and the current set strong towards the shore, I liked it the worse ; however, I bade him not be afraid, but bring the ship to an anchor, as soon as we came so near as to know that we must engage them.

The weather continued calm, and they came on apace towards us ; so I gave orders to come to an anchor, and furl all our sails. As for the savages, I told them they had nothing to fear from them but fire ; and therefore they should get their boats out, and fasten them, one close by the head, and the other by the stern, and man them both well, and wait the issue in that posture : this I did, that the men in the boats might be ready, with sheet and buckets, to put
out

out any fire these savages might endeavour to fix upon the outside of the ship.

In this posture we lay by for them, and in a little while they came up with us, but never was such a horrid fight seen by Christians: My mate was much mistaken in his calculation of their number, I mean of a thousand canoes; the most we could make of them when they came up, being about 126; and a great many of them too; for some of them had sixteen or seventeen men in them, some more, and the least six or seven.

When they came nearer to us, they seemed to be struck with wonder and astonishment, as at a fight which they had, doubtless, never seen before; nor could they, at first, as we afterwards understood, know what to make of us. They came boldly up however, very near to us, and seemed to go about to row round us; but we called to our men in the boats, not to let them come too near them.

This very order brought us to an engagement with them, without our designing it; for five or six of their large canoes came so near our long-boat, that our men beckoned with their hands to them to keep back; which they understood very well, and went back; but at their retreat about 500 arrows came on board us from those boats; and one of our men in the long-boat was very much wounded.

However, I called to them not to fire by any means; but we handed down some deal boards into the boat, and the carpenter presently set up a kind of a fence, like waste boards, to cover them from the arrows of the savages, if they should shoot again.

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About half an hour afterwards they came all up in a body astern of us, and pretty near, so near that we could easily discern what they were, though we could not tell their design. I easily found they were some of my old friends, the same sort of savages that I had been used to engage with; and in a little time more they rowed somewhat farther out to sea, till they came directly broadside with us, and then rowed down straight upon us, till they came so near, that they could hear us speak: Upon this, I ordered all my men to keep close, lest they should shoot any more arrows, and make all our guns ready; but being so near as to be within hearing, I made *Friday* go out upon the deck, and call out aloud to them in his language, to know what they meant; which accordingly he did: whether they understood him or not, that I know not; but, as soon as he had called to them, six of them, who were in the foremost, or nearest boat to us, turned their canoes from us; and, stooping down, shewed us their naked backsides; just as if, in *English*, (saying your presence) they had bid us kiss ———. Whether this was a defiance or challenge, we know not; or whether it was done in mere contempt, or a signal to the rest; but immediately *Friday* cried out, They were going to shoot; and unhappily for him (poor fellow) they let fly about 300 of their arrows; and, to my inexpressible grief, killed poor *Friday*, no other man being in their sight. The poor fellow was shot with no less than three arrows, and about three more fell very nigh him; such unlucky marksmen they were!

I was

I was so enraged with the loss of my old servant, the companion of all my sorrows and solitudes, that I immediately ordered five guns to be loaded with small shot, and four with great ; and gave them such a broadside as they had never had in their lives before, to be sure.

They were not above half a cable's length off when we fired ; and our gunners took their aim so well, that three or four of their canoes were over-set, as we had reason to believe, by one shot only.

The ill manners of turning up their bare backsides to us, gave us no great offence ; neither did I know for certain whether that, which would pass for the greatest contempt among us, might be understood so by them or not ; therefore in return, I had only resolved to have fired four or five guns with powder only, which I knew would fright them sufficiently : but when they shot at us directly with all the fury they were capable of, and especially as they had killed my poor *Friday*, whom I so entirely loved and valued, and who, indeed, so well deserved it ; I not only had been justified before God and man, but would have been very glad, if I could, to have over-set every canoe there, and drowned every one of them.

I can neither tell how many we killed, or how many we wounded, at this broadside ; but sure such a fright and hurry never was seen among such a multitude : there were thirteen or fourteen of their canoes split, and over-set, in all ; and the men all set a swimming ; the rest, frightened out of their wits, scoured away as fast as they could, taking but little care to save those whose boats were split or spoiled with our shot : so I suppose that they were many of
them

them lost; and our men took up one poor fellow swimming for his life, above an hour after they were all gone.

Our small shot from our cannon must needs kill and wound a great many; but, in short, we never knew any thing how it went with them; for they fled so fast, that, in three hours, or thereabouts, we could not see above three or four straggling canoes; nor did we ever see the rest any more; for a breeze of wind springing up the same evening, we weighed and set sail for the *Brafsils*.

We had a prisoner indeed, but the creature was so sullen, that he would neither eat or speak; and we all fancied he would starve himself to death; but I took a way to cure him; for I made them take him, and turn him into the long-boat, and make him believe they would toss him into the sea again, and so leave him where they found him, if he would not speak: nor would that do, but they really did throw him into the sea, and came away from him; and then he followed them, for he swam like a cork, and called to them in his tongue, though they knew not one word of what he said. However, at last, they took him in again, and then he began to be more tractable; nor did I ever design they should drown him.

We were now under sail again; but I was the most disconsolate creature alive, for want of my man *Friday*, and would have been very glad to have gone back to the island, to have taken one of the rest from thence for my occasion, but it could not be; so we went on. We had one prisoner, as I have said; and it was a long while before we could make him understand

understand any thing ; but, in time, our men taught him some *English*, and he began to be a little tractable : Afterwards we enquired what country he came from, but could make nothing of what he said ; for his speech was so odd, all gutturals, and spoken in the throat, in such an hollow and odd manner, that we could never form a word from him ; and we were all of opinion that they might speak that language as well, if they were gagged, as otherwise ; nor could we perceive that they had any occasion either for teeth, tongue, lips, or palate ; but formed their words just as a hunting-horn forms a tune, with an open throat : He told us, however, some time after, when we had taught him to speak a little *English*, that they were going, with their kings, to fight a great battle. When he said *kings*, we asked him, how many kings ? He said, there were five nation, (we could not make him understand the plural *s*.) and that they all joined to go against two nation. We asked him, What made them come up to us ? He said, To makee te great wonder look—Where it is to be observed, that all those natives, as also those of *Africa*, when they learn *English*, they always add two *e*'s at the end of the words where we use one, and place the accent upon the last of them ; as *makee*, *takee*, and the like ; and we could not break them of it ; nay, I could hardly make *Friday* leave it off, thought at last he did.

And now I name the poor fellow once more, I must take my last leave of him ; poor honest *Friday* ! We buried him with all decency and solemnity possible, by putting him into a coffin, and throwing him into the sea ; and I caused them to fire eleven guns
for

for him : and so ended the life of the most grateful, faithful, honest, and most affectionate servant that ever man had.

We now went away with a fair wind for *Brasil*, and, in about twelve days time, we made land in the latitude of five degrees south of the line, being the north-eastermost land of all that part of *America*. We kept on S. by E. in sight of the shore four days, when we made the Cape *St. Augustine*, and in three days came to an anchor off the bay of *All Saints*, the old place of my deliverance, from whence came both my good and evil fate.

Never did a ship come to this part that had less business than I had ; and yet it was with great difficulty that we were admitted to hold the least correspondence on shore. Not my partner himself, who was alive, and made a great figure among them, not my two merchant trustees, nor the fame of my wonderful preservation in the island, could obtain me that favour : but my partner, remembering that I had given five hundred moidores to the prior of the monastery of the *Augustines*, and three hundred and seventy-two to the poor, went to the monastery, and obliged the prior that then was, to go to the governor, and beg leave for me presently, with the captain, and one more, besides eight seamen, to come on shore, and no more ; and this upon condition absolutely capitulated for, that we should not offer to land any goods out of the ship, or to carry any person away without licence.

They were so strict with us, as to landing any goods, that it was with extreme difficulty that I got on shore three bales of *English* goods, such as fine
broad

broad cloths, stuffs; and some linen, which I had brought for a present to my partner.

He was a very generous, broad-hearted man, though (like me) he came from little at first; and though he knew not that I had the least design of giving him any thing, he sent me on board a present of fresh provisions, wine, and sweetmeats, worth above thirty moidores, including some tobacco, and three or four fine medals in gold. But I was even with him in my present, which, as I have said, consisted of fine broad cloth, *English* stuffs, lace, and fine *Hollands*. Also, I delivered him about the value of 100*l.* sterling, in the same goods, for other uses; and I obliged him to set up the sloop which I had brought with me from *England*, as I have said, for the use of my colony, in order to send the refreshments I intended to my plantation.

Accordingly he got hands, and finished the sloop in a very few days, for she was already framed; and I gave the master of her such instructions as he could not miss the place; nor did he miss it, as I had an account from my partner afterwards. I got him soon loaded with the small cargo I had sent them; and one of our seamen, that had been on shore with me there, offered to go with the sloop, and settle there, upon my letter to the governor *Spaniard*, to allot him a sufficient quantity of land for a plantation; and giving him some clothes, and tools for his planting work, which he said he understood, having been an old planter in *Maryland*, and a buccaneer into the bargain.

I encouraged the fellow by granting all he desired; and, as an addition, I gave him the savage
which

which we had taken prisoner of war, to be his slave, and ordered the governor *Spaniard* to give him his share of every thing he wanted, with the rest.

When we came to fit this man out, my old partner told me, there was a certain very honest fellow, a *Brazil* planter of his acquaintance, who had fallen into the displeasure of the church : I know not what the matter is with him, says he, but, on my conscience, I think he is an heretic in his heart ; and he has been obliged to conceal himself for fear of the inquisition ; that he would be very glad of such an opportunity to make his escape, with his wife and two daughters ; and if I would let them go to the island, and allot them a plantation, he would give them a small stock to begin with ; for the officers of the inquisition had seized all his effects and estate, and he had nothing left but a little household stuff, and two slaves ; and, adds he, though I hate his principles, yet I would not have him fall into their hands, for he will assuredly be burnt alive if he does.

I granted this presently, and joined my *Englishman* with them ; and we concealed the man, and his wife and daughters, on board our ship, till the sloop put out to go to sea ; and then (having put all their goods on board the sloop some time before) we put them on board the sloop, after she was got out of the bay.

Our seaman was mightily pleased with this new partner ; and their stock, indeed, was much alike rich in tools, and in preparations, for a farm ; but nothing to begin with, but as above. However, they carried over with them (which was worth all the rest) some materials for planting sugar canes, with some

plants of canes ; which he (I mean the *Portugal* man) understood very well.

Among the rest of the supplies sent my tenants in the island, I sent them, by this sloop, three milch cows and five calves, about twenty-two hogs among them, three sows big with pig, two mares, and a stone-horse.

For my *Spaniards*, according to my promise, I engaged three *Portugal* women to go ; and recommended it to them to marry them, and use them kindly. I could have procured more women, but I remembered that the poor persecuted man had two daughters, and there were but five of the *Spaniards* that wanted ; the rest had wives of their own, tho' in another country.

All this cargo arrived safe, and as you may easily suppose, very welcome to my old inhabitants, who were now (with this addition) between sixty and seventy people, besides little children ; of which there were a great many : I found letters at *London* from them all, by way of *Lisbon*, when I came back to *England*, being sent back to the *Brasils* by this sloop ; of which I shall take some notice in its place.

I have now done with my island, and all manner of discourse about it ; and whoever reads the rest of my memorandums, would do well to turn his thoughts entirely from it, and expect to read only of the follies of an old man, not warned by his own harms, much less by those of other men, to beware of the like ; not cooled by almost forty years misery and disappointments ; not satisfied with prosperity beyond expectation ; not made cautious by affliction and distress beyond imitation.

I had

I had no more business to go to the *East Indies*, than a man at full liberty, and having committed no crime, has to go to the turn-key at *Newgate*, and desire him to lock him up among the prisoners there, and starve him. Had I taken a small vessel from *England*, and went directly to the island; had I loaded her, as I did the other vessel, with all the necessaries for the plantation, and for my people; took a patent from the government here, to have secured my property, in subjection only to that of *England*, which, to be sure, I might have obtained; had I carried over cannon and ammunition, servants, and people to plant, and, taking possession of the place, fortified and strengthened it in the name of *England*, and increased it with people, as I might easily have done; had I then settled myself there, and sent the ship back, loaded with good rice, as I might also have done in six months time, and ordered my friends to have fitted her out again for our supply; had I done this, and stayed there myself, I had, at least, acted like a man of common sense; but I was possessed with a wandering spirit, scorned all advantages, pleased myself with being the patron of these people I had placed there, and doing for them in a kind of haughty majestic way, like an old patriarchal monarch; providing for them, as if I had been father of the whole family, as well as of the plantation: but I never so much as pretended to plant in the name of any government or nation, or to acknowledge any prince, or to call my people subjects to any one nation more than another; nay, I never so much as gave the place a name; but left it as I found it, belonging to no man; and the people under no discipline or go-

vernment but my own; who, though I had an influence over them as father and benefactor, had no authority or power to act or command one way or other, farther than voluntary consent moved them to comply: yet even this, had I staid there, would have done well enough; but as I rambled from them, and came thither no more, the last letters I had from any of them, were by my partner's means, who afterwards sent another sloop to the place; and who sent me word, though I had not the letter till five years after it was written, that they went on but poorly, were malecontent with their long stay there; that *Will Atkins* was dead; that five of the *Spaniards* were come away; and that though they had not been much molested by the savages, yet they had had some skirmishes with them; that they begged of him to write to me, to think of the promise I had made to fetch them away, that they might see their own country again before they died.

But I was gone a wild-goose chase indeed; and they who will have any more of me, must be content to follow me through a new variety of follies, hardships, and wild adventures; wherein the justice of Providence may be duly observed, and we may see how easily Heaven can gorge us with our own desires, make the strongest of our wishes to be our affliction, and punish us most severely with those very things which we think it would be our utmost happiness to be allowed in.

Let no wise man flatter himself with the strength of his own judgment, as if he was able to chuse any particular station of life for himself. Man is a short-sighted creature, sees but a very little way before him;

him; and as his passions are none of his best friends, so his particular affections are generally his worst counsellors.

I say this with respect to the impetuous desire I had from a youth, to wander into the world; and how evident it now was, that this principle was preserved in me for my punishment. How it came on, the manner, the circumstance, and the conclusion of it, it is easy to give you historically, and with its utmost variety of particulars. But the secret ends of Divine Providence, in thus permitting us to be hurried down the stream of our own desires, are only to be understood of those who can listen to the voice of Providence, and draw religious consequences from God's justice, and their own mistakes.

Be it, had I business, or no business, away I went; it is no time now to enlarge any farther upon the reason or absurdity of my own conduct; but to come to the history; I was embarked for the voyage, and the voyage I went.

I shall only add here, that my honest and truly pious clergyman left me here; a ship being ready to go to *Lisbon*, he asked me leave to go thither; being still, as he observed, bound never to finish any voyage he began. How happy had it been for me, if I had gone with him!

But it was too late now; all things Heaven appoints are best: had I gone with him, I had never had so many things to be thankful for, and you had never heard of the second part of the Travels and Adventures of *Robinson Crusoe*; so I must leave here the fruitless exclaiming at myself, and go on with my voyage.

From the *Brasils* we made directly away over the *Atlantic* sea, to the *Cape de Bonne Esperance*, or, as we call it, the *Cape of Good Hope*; and had a tolerable good voyage, our course generally south-east; now and then a storm, and some contrary winds. But my disasters at sea were at an end; my future rubs and cross events were to befall me on shore; that it might appear, the land was as well prepared to be our scourge as the sea, when Heaven, who directs the circumstances of things, pleases to appoint it to be so.

Our ship was on a trading voyage, and had a super-cargo on board, who was to direct all her motions, after she arrived at the *Cape*; only being limited to a certain number of days for stay, by charter-party, at the several ports she was to go to: this was none of my business, neither did I meddle with it at all; my nephew, the captain, and the super-cargo, adjusting all those things between them as they thought fit.

We made no stay at the *Cape*, longer than was needful to take in fresh water, but made the best of our way for the coast of *Coromande*; we were indeed informed that a *French* man of war of fifty guns, and two large merchant ships, were gone for the *Indies*; and, as I knew we were at war with *France*, I had some apprehensions of them; but they went their own way, and we heard no more of them.

I shall not pester my account, or the reader, with descriptions of places, journals of our voyages, variations of the compass, latitudes, meridian distances, trade winds, situation of ports, and the like; such
as

as almost all the histories of long navigation are full of, and which make the reading tiresome enough ; and are perfectly unprofitable to all that read, except only to those who are to go to those places themselves.

It is enough to name the ports and places which we touched at ; and what occurred to us upon our passing from one to another. We touched first at the island of *Madagascar*, where, though the people are fierce and treacherous, and, in particular, very well armed with lances and bows, which they use with inconceivable dexterity, yet we fared very well with them awhile ; they treated us very civilly ; and for some trifles which we gave them, such as knives, scissars, &c. they brought us eleven good fat bullocks, middling in size, but very good in flesh ; which we took in, partly for fresh provisions for our present spending, and the rest to salt for the ship's use.

We were obliged to stay here for some time, after we had furnished ourselves with provisions ; and I, that was always too curious to look into every nook of the world wherever I came, was for going on shore as often as I could. It was on the east side of the island that we went on shore one evening ; and the people, who, by the way, are very numerous, came thronging about us, and stood gazing at us at a distance ; as we had traded freely with them, and had been kindly used, we thought ourselves in no danger : but when we saw the people, we cut three boughs out of a tree, and stuck them up at a distance from us, which, it seems, is a mark in the country, not only of truce and friendship, but when it is ac-

cepted, the other side set up three poles, or boughs, also ; which is a signal that they accept the truce too ; but then this is a known condition of the truce, that you are not to pass beyond their three poles towards them, nor they come past your three poles or boughs towards you ; so that you are perfectly secure within the three poles ; and all the space between your poles and their's, is allowed like a market, for free converse, traffick, and commerce. When you go thither, you must not carry your weapons with you ; and if they come into that space, they stick up their javelins and launces, all at the first poles, and come on unarmed ; but if any violence is offered them, and the truce thereby broken, away they run to the poles, and lay hold of their weapons, and then the truce is at an end.

It happened one evening, when we went on shore, that a greater number of their people came down than usual, but was all very friendly and civil. They brought with them several kinds of provisions, for which we satisfied them with such toys as we had ; their women also brought us milk and roots, and several things very acceptable to us, and all was quiet ; and we made us a little tent, or hut, of some boughs of trees, and lay on shore all that night.

I know not what was the occasion, but I was not so well satisfied to lie on shore as the rest ; and the boat lying at an anchor about a stone's cast from the land, with two men in her to take care of her, I made one of them come on shore ; and getting some boughs of trees to cover us also in the boat, I spread the sail on the bottom of the boat, and lay on board,
under

under the cover of the branches of the trees, all night.

About two o'clock in the morning we heard one of our men make a terrible noise on the shore, calling out for God's sake to bring the boat in, and come and help them, for they were all like to be murdered; at the same time I heard the firing of five musquets, which was the number of the guns they had, and that three times over; for, it seems, the natives here were not so easily frightened with guns as the savages were in *America*, where I had to do with them.

All this while I knew not what was the matter; but rousing immediately from sleep with the noise, I caused the boat to be thrust in, and resolved, with three fufils we had on board, to land and assist our men.

We got the boat soon to the shore; but our men were in too much haste; for, being come to the shore, they plunged into the water, to get to the boat with all the expedition they could, being pursued by between three and four hundred men. Our men were but nine in all, and only five of them had fufils with them; the rest, indeed, had pistols and swords, but they were of small use to them.

We took up seven of our men, and with difficulty enough too, three of them being very ill wounded; and that which was still worse, was, that while we stood in the boat to take our men in, we were in as much danger as they were in on shore; for they poured their arrows in upon us so thick, that we were fain to barricade the side of the boat up with the benches, and two or three loose boards, which,
to

to our great satisfaction, we had, by mere accident, or providence rather, in the boat.

And yet, had it been day-light, they are, it seems, such exact marksmen, that if they could have seen but the least part of any of us, they would have been sure of us : we had, by the light of the moon, a little sight of them, as they stood pelting us from the shore with darts and arrows ; and, having got ready our fire-arms, we gave them a volley ; and we could hear by the cries of some of them, that we had wounded several ; however they stood thus in battle array on the shore till break of day, which we suppose was, that they might see the better to take their aim at us.

In this condition we lay, and could not tell how to weigh our anchor, or set up our sail, because we must needs stand up in the boat, and they were as sure to hit us, as we were to hit a bird in a tree with small shot : we made signals of distress to the ship, which though she rode a league off, yet my nephew, the captain, hearing our firing, and by glasses perceiving the posture we lay in, and that we fired towards the shore, pretty well understood us ; and, weighing anchor with all speed, he stood as near the shore as he durst with the ship, and then sent another boat, with ten hands in her, to assist us ; but we called to them not to come too near, telling them what condition we were in : however, they stood in nearer to us ; and one of the men, taking the end of a tow-line in his hand, and keeping our boat between him and the enemy, so that they could not perfectly see him, swam on board us, and made the line fast to the boat ; upon which we slipped our little cable,
I and

and leaving our anchor behind, they towed us out of the reach of the arrows ; we all the while lying close behind the barricade we had made.

As soon as we were got from between the ship and the shore, that she could lay her side to the shore, we ran along just by them, and we poured in a broadside among them, loaded with pieces of iron and lead, small bullets, and such stuff, besides the great shot, which made a terrible havock among them.

When we were got on board, and out of danger, we had time to examine into the occasion of this fray ; and, indeed, our supercargo, who had been often in those parts, put me upon it ; for he said he was sure the inhabitants would not have touched us after we had made a truce, if we had not done something to provoke them to it : At length it came out, *viz.* That an old woman, who had come to sell us some milk, had brought it within our poles, with a young woman with her, who also brought some roots or herbs ; and while the old woman (whether she was mother to the young woman or no, they could not tell) was selling us the milk, one of our men offered some rudeness to the wench that was with her ; at which the old woman made a great noise. However, the seaman would not quit his prize, but carried her out of the old woman's sight, among the trees, it being almost dark ; the old woman went away without her ; and, as we suppose, made an outcry among the people she came from ; who, upon notice, raised this great army upon us in three or four hours ; and it was great odds but we had been all destroyed.

One

One of our men was killed with a lance that was thrown at him, just at the beginning of the attack, as he sallied out of the tent we had made; the rest came off free, all but the fellow who was the occasion of all the mischief, who paid dear enough for his black mistress, for we could not hear what became of him a great while. We lay upon the shore two days after, though the wind presented, and made signals for him; made our boat sail up shore, and down shore, several leagues, but in vain; so we were obliged to give him over; and if he alone had suffered for it, the loss had been the less.

I could not satisfy myself, however, without venturing on shore once more, to try if I could learn any thing of him or them; it was the third night after the action, that I had a great mind to learn, if I could by any means, what mischief we had done, and how the game stood on the *Indian* side: I was careful to do it in the dark, lest we should be attacked again; but I ought indeed to have been sure, that the men I went with had been under my command, before I engaged in a thing so hazardous and mischievous, as I was brought into it without my knowledge or desire.

We took twenty stout fellows with us as any in the ship, besides the supercargo and myself; and we landed two hours before midnight, at the same place where the *Indians* stood drawn up the evening before: I landed here, because my design, as I have said, was chiefly to see if they had quitted the field, and if they had left any marks behind them, or of the mischief we had done them; and I thought, if we could sur-
prise

prise one or two of them, perhaps we might get our man again, by way of exchange.

We landed without any noise, and divided our men into two companies, whereof the boatswain commanded one, and I the other: We neither could hear nor see any body stir when we landed; so we marched up, one body at a distance from the other, to the field of battle: At first we could see nothing, it being very dark; but by and by, our boatswain, that led the first party, stumbled and fell over a dead body: This made them halt there awhile; for knowing by the circumstances, that they were at the place where the *Indians* had stood, they waited for my coming up: Here we concluded to halt till the moon began to rise, which we knew would be in less than an hour; and then we could easily discern the havock we had made among them: We told two-and-thirty bodies upon the ground, whereof two were not quite dead. Some had an arm, and some a leg, shot off; and one his head: Those that were wounded, we supposed they had carried away.

When we had made, as I thought, a full discovery of all we could come at the knowledge of, I was for going on board again; but the boatswain and his party often sent me word, that they were resolved to make a visit to the *Indian* town, where these dogs, as they called them, dwelt; and desired me to go along with them; and if they could find them, as they still fancied they should, they did not doubt, they said, getting a good booty; and it might be, they might find *Thomas Jeffrys* there: that was the man's name we had lost.

Had

Had they sent to ask my leave to go, I knew well enough what answer to have given them; for I would have commanded them instantly on board, knowing it was not a hazard fit for us to run, who had a ship, and a ship's loading in our charge, and a voyage to make, which depended very much upon the lives of the men; but as they sent me word they were resolved to go, and only asked me and my company to go along with them, I positively refused it, and rose up (for I was sitting on the ground) in order to go to the boat. One or two of the men began to importune me to go; and, when I still refused positively, began to grumble, and say they were not under my command, and they would go. Come, *Jack*, says one of the men, will you go with me? I will go for one. *Jack* said he would; and another followed, and then another; and, in a word, they all left me but one, whom, with much difficulty too, I persuaded to stay: so the supercargo and I, with one man, went back to the boat, where, I told them, we would stay for them, and take care to take in as many of them as should be left; for I told them, it was a mad thing they were going about, and supposed most of them would run the fate of *Thomas Jeffrys*.

They told me, like seamen, they'd warrant it they would come off again; and they would take care, &c. So away they went. I intreated them to consider the ship, and the voyage; that their lives were not their own; and that they were intrusted with the voyage, in some measure; that if they miscarried, the ship might be lost for want of their help; and

and that they could not answer it to God and man. I said a great deal more to them on that head, but I might as well have talked to the main-mast of the ship; they were mad upon their journey; only they gave me good words, and begged I would not be angry; said they would be very cautious, and they did not doubt but they would be back again in about an hour, at farthest; for the *Indian* town, they said, was not above half a mile off; though they found it above two miles before they got to it.

Well, they all went away, as above; and though the attempt was desperate, and such as none but mad-men would have gone about, yet, to give them their due, they went about it warily, as well as boldly. They were gallantly armed, that is true; for they had every man a fusil or musquet, a bayonet, and every man a pistol; some of them had broad cut-laffes, some of them hangers; and the boatswain, and two more, had pole-axes: besides all which, they had among them thirteen hand-grenadoes. Bolder fellows, and better provided, never went about any wicked work in the world.

When they went out, their chief design was plunder; and they were in mighty hopes of finding gold there; but a circumstance, which none of them were aware of, set them on fire with revenge, and made devils of them all: When they came to the few *Indian* houses, which they thought had been the town, which were not above half a mile off, they were under a great disappointment; for there were not above twelve or thirteen houses; and where the town was, or how big, they knew not: They con-
fulted

sulted therefore what to do, and were some time before they could resolve: for if they fell upon these, they must cut all their throats; and it was ten to one but some of them might escape, it being in the night, though the moon was up; and if one escaped, he would run away, and raise all the town, so they should have a whole army upon them. Again, on the other hand, if they went away, and left those untouched (for the people were all asleep) they could not tell which way to look for the town.

However, the last was the best advice; so they resolved to leave those houses, and look for the town as well as they could: They went on a little way, and found a cow tied to a tree: this they presently concluded would be a good guide to them; for they said the cow certainly belonged to the town before them, or the town behind them; and if they untied her, they should see which way she went: if she went back, they had nothing to say to her; but if she went forward, they had nothing to do but to follow her; so they cut the cord, which was made of twisted flags, and the cow went on before them: In a word, the cow led them directly to the town, which, as they reported, consisted of above 200 houses, or huts; and in some of these they found several families living together.

Here they found all silent; as profoundly secure, as sleep and a country that had never seen an enemy of that kind, could make them. Upon this they called another council, to consider what they had to do; and, in a word, they resolved to divide themselves into three bodies, and to set three houses on
fire

fire in three parts of the town ; and as the men came out, to seize them, and bind them ; if any resisted, they need not be asked what to do then ; and so to search the rest of the houses for plunder ; but resolved to march silently first through the town, and see what dimensions it was of, and consider if they might venture upon it, or no.

They did so, and desperately resolved that they would venture upon them ; but while they were animating one another to the work, three of them, that were a little before the rest, called out aloud, and told them they had found *Thomas Jeffrys* ; they all ran up to the place, and so it was indeed, for there they found the poor fellow, hanged up naked by one arm, and his throat cut : There was an *Indian* house just by the tree, where they found sixteen or seventeen of the principal *Indians*, who had been concerned in the fray with us before, and two or three of them wounded with our shot ; and our men found they were awake, and talking one to another in that house, but knew not their number.

The sight of their poor mangled comrade so enraged them, as before, that they swore to one another they would be revenged, and that not an *Indian* who came into their hands should have quarter ; and to work they went immediately ; and yet not so madly as by the rage and fury they were in might be expected. Their first care was to get something that would soon take fire ; but after a little search, they found that would be to no purpose, for most of the houses were low, and thatched with flags or rushes, of which the country is full ; so they presently made some wild

fire, as we call it, by wetting a little powder in the palms of their hands ; and, in a quarter of an hour, they set the town on fire in four or five places ; and particularly that house where the *Indians* were not gone to bed. As soon as the fire began to blaze, the poor frightened creatures began to rush out to save their lives ; but met with their fate in the attempt, and especially at the door, where they drove them back, the boatswain himself killing one or two with his pole-axe ; the house being large, and many in it, he did not care to go in, but called for an hand grenade, and threw it among them, which, at first, frightened them ; but when it burst, made such havock among them, that they cried out in a hideous manner.

In short, most of the *Indians* who were in the open part of the house, were killed or hurt with the grenade, except two or three more, who pressed to the door, which the boatswain and two more kept with the bayonets in the muzzles of their pieces, and dispatched all who came that way. But there was another apartment in the house, where the prince, or king, or whatsoever he was, and several others, were ; and they kept in, till the house, which was by this time all of a light flame, fell in upon them, and they were smothered, or burnt together.

All this while they fired not a gun, because they would not waken the people faster than they could master them ; but the fire began to waken them fast enough, and our fellows were glad to keep a little together in bodies ; for the fire grew so raging, all the houses being made of light combustible stuff, that they could hardly bear the street between them ;
and

and their business was to follow the fire for the surer execution: As fast as the fire either forced the people out of those houses which were burning, or frightened them out of others, our people were ready at their doors to knock them on the head, still calling and hallooing to one another to remember *Thomas Jeffrys*.

While this was doing, I must confess I was very uneasy, and especially, when I saw the flames of the town, which, it being night, seemed to be just by me.

My nephew, the captain, who was roused by his men too, seeing such a fire, was very uneasy, not knowing what the matter was, or what danger I was in; especially hearing the guns too; for by this time they began to use their fire-arms: A thousand thoughts oppressed his mind concerning me and the supercargo, what should become of us: and at last, though he could ill spare any more men, yet, not knowing what exigence we might be in, he takes another boat, and with thirteen men and himself comes on shore to me.

He was surprised to see me and the supercargo in the boat, with no more than two men, for one had been left to keep the boat; and though he was glad that we were well; yet he was in the same impatience with us to know what was doing; for the noise continued, and the flame increased: I confess it was next to an impossibility for any men in the world to restrain their curiosity of knowing what had happened, or their concern for the safety of the men. In a word, the captain told me, he would go and help his

men, let what would come. I argued with him, as I did before with the men, the safety of the ship, and the danger of the voyage, the interest of the owners and merchants, &c. and told him I would go, and the two men, and only see if we could, at a distance, learn what was like to be the event, and come back and tell him.

It was all one to talk to my nephew, as it was to talk to the rest before ; he would go, he said, and he only wished he had left but ten men in the ship ; for he could not think of having his men lost for want of help : he had rather, he said, lose the ship, the voyage, and his life, and all : And so away went he.

Nor was I any more able to stay behind now, than I was to persuade them not to go before ; so, in short, the captain ordered two men to row back the pinnace, and fetch twelve men more from the ship, leaving the long-boat at an anchor ; and that when they came back, six men should keep the two boats, and six more come after us ; so that he left only sixteen men in the ship ; for the whole ship's company consisted of 65 men, whereof two were lost in the first quarrel which brought this mischief on.

Being now on the march, you may be sure we felt little of the ground we trod on ; and being guided by the fire, we kept no path, but went directly to the place of the flame. If the noise of the guns were surprising to us before, the cries of the poor people were now quite of another nature, and filled us with horror. I must confess I never was at the sacking of a city, or at the taking of a town by storm ; I have
heard

heard of *Oliver Cromwell* taking *Drogheda*, in *Ireland*, and killing man, woman, and child ; and I had read of Count *Tilly* sack- ing the city of *Magdebourg*, and cutting the throats of 22000 of both sexes ; but I never had an idea of the thing itself before ; nor is it possible to describe it, or the horror which was upon our minds at hearing it.

However we went on, and, at length, came to the town, though there was no entering the streets of it for the fire. The first object we met with was the ruins of a hut or house, or rather the ashes of it, for the house was consumed ; and just before it, plain now to be seen by the light of the fire, lay four men and three women killed ; and, as we thought, one or two more lay in the heap among the fire. In short, these were such instances of a rage altogether barbarous, and of a fury something beyond what was human, that we thought it impossible our men could be guilty of it ; or, if they were the authors of it, we thought that every one of them ought to be put to the worst of deaths : But this was not all ; we saw the fire increased forward, and the cry went on just as the fire went on, so that we were in the utmost confusion. We advanced a little way farther ; and beheld, to our astonishment, three women naked, crying in a most dreadful manner, and flying as if they had, indeed, had wings, and after them sixteen or seventeen men, natives, in the same terror and consternation, with three of our *English* butchers (for I can call them no better) in the rear ; who, when they could not overtake them, fired in among them, and one that was killed by their shot, fell down in our sight ; when the rest saw us, believing

us to be their enemies, and that we would murder them, as well as those that pursued them, they set up a most dreadful shriek, especially the women; and two of them fell down as if already dead with the fright.

My very soul shrunk within me, and my blood ran chill in my veins when I saw this; and I believe, had the three *English* sailors that pursued them come on, I had made our men kill them all. However, we took some ways to let the poor flying creatures know that we would not hurt them; and immediately they came up to us, and kneeling down, with their hands lifted up, made piteous lamentations to us to save them, which we let them know we would do; whereupon they kept all together in a huddle, close behind us, for protection. I left my men drawn up together, and charged them to hurt nobody, but, if possible, to get at some of our people, and see what devil it was possessed them, and what they intended to do; and, in a word, to command them off; assuring them, that if they staid till day-light, they would have a hundred thousand men about their ears; I say, I left them, and went among those flying people, taking only two of our men with me: and there was, indeed, a piteous spectacle among them: Some of them had their feet terribly burnt with trampling and running through the fire; others their hands burnt; one of the women had fallen down in the fire, and was almost burnt to death before she could get out again; two or three of the men had cuts in their backs and thighs, from our men pursuing; and another was shot through the body, and died while I was there.

I would

I would fain have learned what the occasion of all this was, but I could not understand one word they said, though by signs I perceived that some of them knew not what was the occasion themselves. I was so terrified in my thoughts at this outrageous attempt, that I could not stay there, but went back to my own men : I told them my resolution, and commanded them to follow me, when in the very moment came four of our men, with the boatswain at their head, running over the heaps of bodies they had killed, all covered with blood and dust, as if they wanted more people to massacre ; when our men hallooed to them as loud as they could halloo ; and, with much ado, one of them made them hear ; so that they knew who we were, and came up to us.

As soon as the boatswain saw us, he set up a halloo, like a shout of triumph, for having, as he thought, more help come ; and without bearing to hear me, Captain, says he, noble captain, I am glad you are come ; we have not half done yet : Villains ! hell-hound dogs ! I will kill as many of them as poor *Tom* has hairs upon his head. We have sworn to spare none of them ; we will root out the very name of them from the earth : and thus he ran on, out of breath too with action, and would not give us leave to speak a word.

At last, raising my voice that I might silence him a little : Barbarous dog ! said I, what are you doing ? I won't have one creature touched more, upon pain of death. I charge you, upon your life, to stop your hands, and stand still here, or you are a dead man this minute.

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Why,

Why, Sir, says he, do you know what you do, or what they have done? If you want a reason for what we have done, come hither; and with that he shewed me the poor fellow hanging upon a tree, with his throat cut.

I confess I was urged then myself, and at another time should have been forward enough; but I thought they had carried their rage too far, and thought of *Jacob's* words to his sons *Simeon* and *Levi*, "*Curfed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel.*" But I had now a new task upon my hands; for when the men I carried with me saw the sight, as I had done, I had as much to do to restrain them, as I should have had with the others; nay, my nephew himself fell in with them, and told me, in their hearing, that he was only concerned for fear of the men being overpowered; for, as to the people, he thought not one of them ought to live; for they had all glutted themselves with the murder of the poor man, and that they ought to be used like murderers: upon these words, away ran eight of my men with the boatswain and his crew, to complete their bloody work: and I, seeing it quite out of my power to restrain them, came away penfive and sad; for I could not bear the sight, much less the horrible noise and cries of the poor wretches that fell into their hands.

I got nobody to come back with me but the supercargo and two men, and with these I walked back to the boats. It was a very great piece of folly in me, I confess, to venture back as it were alone; for as it began now to be almost day, and the alarm had run over the country, there stood about forty men,

armed with lances and bows, at the little place where the twelve or thirteen houses stood, mentioned before; but by accident I missed the place, and came directly to the sea-side; and by that time I got to the sea-side, it was broad day: immediately I took the pinnace, and went aboard, and sent her back to assist the men in what might happen.

I observed, that about the time I came to the boat-side, the fire was pretty well out, and the noise abated; but in about half an hour after I got on board, I heard a volley of our men's fire arms, and saw a great smoke; this, as I understood afterwards, was our men falling upon the forty men, who, as I said, stood at the few houses on the way; of whom they killed sixteen or seventeen, and set all those houses on fire, but did not meddle with the women or children.

By that time the men got to the shore again with the pinnace; our men began to appear; they came dropping in, some and some; not in two bodies, and in form, as they went out, but all in heaps, straggling here and there in such manner, that a small force of resolute men might have cut them all off.

But the dread of them was upon the whole country: The people were amazed and surprized, and so frightened, that, I believe, an hundred of them would have fled at the sight of but five of our men. Nor in all this terrible action was there a man who made any considerable defence; they were so surprized between the terror of the fire, and the sudden attack of our men in the dark, that they knew not which way to turn themselves; for if they fled one way, they were met by one party; if back again, by another;

ther ; so that they were every where knocked down. Nor did any of our men receive the least hurt, except one who strained his foot, and another had one of his hands very much burnt.

I was very angry with my nephew, the captain, and, indeed, with all the men, in my mind, but with him in particular ; as well for his acting so out of his duty, as commander of the ship, and having the charge of the voyage upon him, as in his prompting, rather than cooling, the rage of his men, in so bloody and cruel an enterprize : My nephew answered me very respectfully ; but told me that when he saw the body of the poor seaman, whom they had murdered in such a cruel and barbarous manner, he was not master of himself, neither could he govern his passion ; he owned, he should not have done so, as he was commander of the ship ; but, as he was a man, and nature moved him, he could not bear it. As for the rest of the men, they were not subject to me at all ; and they knew it well enough, so they took no notice of my dislike.

The next day we set sail ; so we never heard any more of it. Our men differed in the account of the number they killed ; some said one thing, some another : But, according to the best of their accounts put all together, they killed, or destroyed, about 150 people, men, women, and children, and left not a house standing in the town.

As for the poor fellow *Thomas Jeffrys*, as he was quite dead, for his throat was so cut that his head was half off, it would do him no service to bring him away ; so they left him where they found him,
only

only took him down from the tree where he was hanged by one hand.

However just our men thought this action to be, I was against them in it ; and I always, after that time, told them GOD would blast the voyage ; for I looked upon the blood they shed that night to be murder in them : for though it is true that they killed *Thomas Jeffrys*, yet it was as true that *Jeffrys* was the aggressor, had broken the truce, and had violated or debauched a young woman of their's, who came to our camp innocently, and on the faith of their capitulation.

The boatswain defended this quarrel when we were afterwards on board. He said, it was true that we seemed to break the truce, but really had not ; and that the war was begun the night before by the natives themselves, who had shot at us, and killed one of our men without any just provocation ; so that, as we were in a capacity to fight them, we might also be in a capacity to do ourselves justice upon them in an extraordinary manner ; that though the poor man had taken liberty with a wench, he ought not to have been murdered, and that in such a villainous manner ; and that they did nothing but what was just, and that the laws of GOD allowed to be done to murderers.

One would think this should have been enough to have warned us against going on shore among heathens and barbarians ; but it is impossible to make mankind wise, but at their own experience ; and their experience seems to be always of most use to them, when it is dearest bought.

We were now bound to the gulph of *Persia*, and from thence to the coast of *Coromandel*, only to touch
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at *Surat*; but the chief of the supercargo's design lay at the bay of *Bengal*, where, if he missed of the business outward-bound, he was to go up to *China*, and return to the coast as he came home.

The first disaster that befel us was in the gulph of *Persia*, where five of our men, venturing on shore on the *Arabian* side of the gulph, were surrounded by the *Arabs*, and either all killed, or carried away into slavery; the rest of the boat's crew were not able to rescue them, and had but just time to get off their boat: I began to upbraid them with the just retribution of Heaven in this case; but the boatswain very warmly told me, he thought I went farther in my censures than I could shew any warrant for in scripture, and referred to the thirteenth of St. *Luke*, ver. 4. where our Saviour intimates, that those men, on whom the Tower of *Siloam* fell, were not sinners above all the *Galileans*; but that which, indeed, put me to silence in this case, was, that none of these five men, who were now lost, were of the number of those who went on shore to the massacre of *Madagascar* (so I always called it, though our men could not bear the word *massacre* with any patience): and, indeed, this last circumstance, as I have said, put me to silence for the present.

But my frequent preaching to them on this subject had worse consequences than I expected; and the boatswain, who had been the head of the attempt, came up boldly to me one time, and told me, he found that I continually brought that affair upon the stage; that I made unjust reflections upon it, and had
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used the men very ill on that account, and himself in particular; that as I was but a passenger, and had no command in the ship, or concern in the voyage, they were not obliged to bear it; that they did not know but I might have some ill design in my head, and, perhaps, call them to an account for it, when they came to *England*; and that therefore, unless I would resolve to have done with it, and also not to concern myself farther with him, or any of his affairs, he would leave the ship; for he did not think it was safe to sail with me among them.

I heard him patiently enough till he had done, and then told him, that I did confess I had all along opposed the massacre of *Madagascar*, for such I would always call it; and that I had on all occasions spoken my mind freely about it, though not more upon him than any of the rest; that as to my having no command in the ship, that was true, nor did I exercise any authority, only took the liberty of speaking my mind in things which publickly concerned us all; as to what concern I had in the voyage, that was none of his business; I was a considerable owner of the ship, and in that claim I conceived I had a right to speak, even farther than I had yet done, and would not be accountable to him, or any one else; and began to be a little warm with him: he made but little reply to me at that time, and I thought that affair had been over. We were at this time in the road to *Bengal*; and, being willing to see the place, I went on shore with the supercargo, in the ship's boat, to divert myself; and towards evening was preparing to go on board, when one of the men came to me, and
told

told me, he would not have me trouble myself to come down to the boat, for they had orders not to carry me on board. Any one may guess what a surprise I was in at so insolent a message; and I asked the man, who bade him deliver that errand to me? He told me the cockswain. I said no more to the fellow, but bid him let them know he had delivered his message, and that I had given him no answer to it.

I immediately went, and found out the supercargo, and told him the story, adding, what I presently foresaw, *viz.* that there would certainly be a mutiny in the ship; and intreated him to go immediately on board the ship in an *Indian* boat, and acquaint the captain of it: but I might have spared this intelligence, for, before I had spoken to him on shore, the matter was effected on board: the boatswain, the gunner, the carpenter, and in a word, all the inferior officers, as soon as I was gone off in the boat, came up to the quarter-deck, and desired to speak with the captain; and there the boatswain, making a long harangue (for the fellow talked very well), and repeating all he had said to me, told the captain in a few words, that as I was now gone peaceably on shore, they were loth to use any violence with me; which, if I had not gone on shore, they would otherwise have done, to oblige me to have gone. They therefore thought fit to tell him, that as they shipped themselves to serve in the ship under his command, they would perform it faithfully: but if I would not quit the ship, or the captain oblige me to quit it, they would all leave the ship, and sail no farther with him: and at that word ALL, he turned his face about
towards

towards the main-mast, which was, it seems, the signal agreed on between them ; at which all the seamen being got together, they cried out, One and ALL, One and ALL !

My nephew, the captain, was a man of spirit, and of great presence of mind, and though he was surprised, you may be sure, at the thing, yet he told them calmly he would consider of the matter ; but that he could do nothing in it till he had spoken to me about it : he used some arguments with them, to shew them the unreasonableness and injustice of the thing ; but it was all in vain ; they swore, and shook hands round, before his face, that they would go all on shore, unless he would engage to them not to suffer me to come on board the ship.

This was an hard article upon him, who knew his obligation to me, and did not know how I might take it ; so he began to talk cavalierly to them ; told them that I was a very considerable owner of the ship, and that in justice he could not put me out of my own house ; that this was next door to serving me as the famous pirate *Kid* had done, who made the mutiny in the ship, set the captain on shore in an uninhabited island, and ran away with the ship ; that let them go into what ship they would, if ever they came to *England* again, it would cost them dear ; that the ship was mine, and that he would not put me out of it ; and that he would rather lose the ship, and the voyage too, than disoblige me so much ; so they might do as they pleased. However, he would go on shore, and talk with me there ; and invited the boatswain to go with him, and perhaps they might accommodate the matter with me.

But they all rejected the proposal ; and said, they would have nothing to do with me any more, neither on board, or on shore ; and if I came on board, they would go on shore. Well, said the captain, if you are all of this mind, let me go on shore, and talk with him : so away he came to me with this account, a little after the message had been brought to me from the cockswain.

I was very glad to see my nephew, I must confess ; for I was not without apprehensions that they would confine him by violence, set sail, and run away with the ship ; and then I had been stript naked, in a remote country, and nothing to help myself : in short, I had been in a worse case than when I was all alone in the island.

But they had not come to that length, it seems, to my great satisfaction ; and when my nephew told me what they had said to him, and how they had sworn, and shook hands, that they would one and all leave the ship, if I was suffered to come on board, I told him, he should not be concerned at it at all, for I would stay on shore : I only desired he would take care and send me all my necessary things on shore, and leave me a sufficient sum of money, and I would find my way to England as well as I could.

This was a heavy piece of news to my nephew ; but there was no way to help it, but to comply with it. So in short, he went on board the ship again, and satisfied the men, that his uncle had yielded to their importunity, and had sent for his goods from on board the ship. So the matter was over in a very few hours : the men returned to their duty, and I begun to consider what course I should steer.

I was

I was now alone in the remotest part of the world, as I think I may call it ; for I was near three thousand leagues, by sea, farther off from England than I was at my island ; only, it is true, I might travel here by land, over the *Great Mogul's* country to *Surat*, might go from thence to *Baffora* by sea, up the gulph of *Persia*, and from thence might take the way of the caravans, over the deserts of *Arabia* to *Aleppo* and *Scanderoon* ; and from thence by sea again to *Italy*, and so over land into *France* ; and this, put together, might be, at least, a full diameter of the globe ; but, if it were to be measured, I suppose it would appear to be a great deal more.

I had another way before me, which was to wait for some *English* ships, which were coming to *Bengal*, from *Achin*, on the island of *Sumatra*, and get passage on board them for *England* : but as I came hither without any concern with the *English East-India* Company, so it would be difficult to go from hence without their licence, unless with great favour of the captains of the ships, or of the company's factors ; and to both I was an utter stranger.

Here I had the particular pleasure, speaking by contrarieties, to see the ship set sail without me ; a treatment, I think, a man in my circumstances scarce ever met with, except from pirates running away with a ship, and setting those that would not agree with their villainy on shore : indeed, this was the next door to it, both ways. However, my nephew left me two servants, or rather, one companion, and one servant : the first was clerk to the purser, whom he engaged to go with me ; and the other was his own servant. I took me also a good lodging in the house

of an *English* woman, where several merchants lodged, some *French*, two *Italians*, or rather *Jews*, and one *Englishman*. Here I was handsomely enough entertained ; and, that I might not be said to run rashly upon any thing, I stayed here above nine months, considering what course to take, and how to manage myself. I had some *English* goods with me of value, and a considerable sum of money ; my nephew furnishing me with a thousand pieces of eight, and a letter of credit for more, if I had occasion, that I might not be straitened, whatever might happen.

I quickly disposed of my goods, and to advantage too ; and, as I originally intended, I bought here some very good diamonds, which, of all other things, was the most proper for me, in my circumstances, because I might always carry my whole estate about me.

After a long stay here, and many proposals made for my return to *England*, but none falling to my mind, the *English* merchant, who lodged with me, and with whom I had contracted an intimate acquaintance, came to me one morning : Countryman, says he, I have a project to communicate to you, which, as it suits with my thoughts, may, for aught I know, suit with your's also, when you shall have thoroughly considered it.

Here we are posted, says he, you by accident, and I by my own choice, in a part of the world very remote from our own country ; but it is in a country where, by us who understand trade and business, a great deal of money is to be got : if you will put a thousand pounds to my thousand pounds, we will hire a ship here, the first we can get to our minds,
you

you shall be captain, I'll be merchant, and we will go a trading voyage to *China* : for what should we stand still for ? The whole world is in motion, rolling round and round ; all the creatures of God, heavenly bodies and earthly, are busy and diligent : why should we be idle ? There are no drones, says he, living in the world but men : why should we be of that number ?

I liked this proposal very well ; and the more, because it seemed to be expressed with so much good will, and in so friendly a manner. I will not say, but that I might, by my loose and unhinged circumstances, be the fitter to embrace a proposal for trade, and, indeed, for any thing else ; or otherwise, trade was none of my element : however, I might, perhaps, say, with some truth, that if trade was not my element, rambling was ; and no proposal for seeing any part of the world, which I had never seen before, could possibly come amiss to me.

It was, however, some time before we could get a ship to our mind ; and when we got a vessel, it was not easy to get *English* sailors ; that is to say, so many as were necessary to govern the voyage, and manage the sailors which we should pick up there. After some time we got a mate, a boatswain, and a gunner, *English* ; a *Dutch* carpenter, and three *Portuguese*, foremast men ; with these, we found we could do well enough, having *Indian* seamen, such as they are, to make up.

There are so many travellers who have written the history of their voyages and travels this way, that it would be but very little diversion to any body, to

give a long account of the places we went to, and the people who inhabit there : those things I leave to others, and refer the reader to those journals and travels of *Englishmen*, many of which, I find, are published, and more promised every day. It is enough for me to tell you, that we made the voyage to *Achin*, in the island of *Sumatra*, first ; and from thence to *Siam*, where we exchanged some of our wares for opium, and for some arrack ; the first, a commodity which bears a great price among the *Chinese*, and which, at that time, was very much wanted there : in a word, we went up to *Susham* ; made a very great voyage ; were eight months out ; and returned to *Bengal* : and I was very well satisfied with my adventure. I observe, that our people in *England*, often admire how the officers, which the Company send into India, and the merchants which generally stay there, get such very good estates as they do, and sometimes come home worth sixty, seventy, and an hundred thousand pounds at a time.

But it is no wonder, or, at least, we shall see so much farther into it, when we consider the innumerable ports and places where they have a free commerce, that it will then be no wonder ; and much less will it be so, when we consider, that all those places and ports where the *English* ships come, there is so much, and such constant demand for the growth of all other countries, that there is a certain vent for the return, as well as a market abroad for the goods carried out.

In short, we made a very good voyage, and I got so much money by the first adventure, and such an
insight

insight into the method of getting more, that, had I been twenty years younger, I should have been tempted to have staid here, and fought no farther for making my fortune : but what was all this to a man on the wrong side of threescore, that was rich enough, and came abroad more in obedience to a restless desire of seeing the world, than a covetous desire of getting in it ? And, indeed, I think, it is with great justice that I now call it a restless desire ; for it was so : when I was at home, I was restless to go abroad ; and now I was abroad, I was restless to be at home. I say, what was this gain to me ? I was rich enough already ; nor had I any uneasy desires about getting more money ; and therefore, the profits of the voyage to me, were things of no great force to me, for the prompting me forward to farther undertakings : hence I thought, that by this voyage I had made no progress at all ; because I was come back, as I might call it, to the place from whence I came, as to an home ; whereas my eye, which, like that which Solomon speaks of, was never satisfied with seeing, was still more desirous of wandering and seeing. I was come into a part of the world which I never was in before ; and that part in particular, which I had heard much of ; and was resolved to see as much of it as I could ; and then I thought, I might say, I had seen all the world that was worth seeing.

But my fellow-traveller and I had different notions : I do not name this to insist upon my own, for I acknowledge his was most just, and the most suited to the end of a merchant's life ; who, when he is

abroad upon adventures, it is his wisdom to stick to that, as the best thing for him, which he is like to get the most money by. My new friend kept himself to the nature of the thing, and would have been content to have gone, like a carrier's horse, always to the same inn, backward and forward, provided he could, as he called it, find his account in it : on the other hand, mine, as old as I was, was the notion of a mad rambling boy, that never cares to see a thing twice over.

But this was not all : I had a kind of impatience upon me to be nearer home, and yet the most unsettled resolution imaginable, which way to go. In the interval of these consultations, my friend, who was always upon the search for business, proposed another voyage to me, *viz.* among the Spice-Islands ; and to bring home a load of cloves from the *Manillas*, or thereabouts ; places where, indeed, the *Dutch* do trade, but the islands belong partly to the *Spaniards* ; though we went not so far, but to some other, where they have not the whole power as they have at *Batavia*, *Ceylon*, &c. We were not long in preparing for this voyage ; the chief difficulty was in bringing me to come into it ; however, at last, nothing else offering, and finding that really stirring about and trading, the profit being so great, and, as I may say, certain, had more pleasure in it, and more satisfaction to the mind, than sitting still ; which, to me especially, was the unhappiest part of life, I resolved on this voyage too : which we made very successfully, touching at *Borneo*, and several islands, whose names I do not remember, and came home in about five months. We sold our spice, which was chiefly cloves, and

some nutmegs, to the *Persian* merchants, who carried them away for the Gulph ; and, making near five of one, we really got a great deal of money.

My friend, when we made up this account, smiled at me : Well now, said he, with a sort of an agreeable insult upon my indolent temper, is not this better than walking about here, like a man of nothing to do, and spending our time in staring at the nonsense and ignorance of the Pagans ? Why truly, said I, my friend, I think it is ; and I begin to be a convert to the principles of merchandizing. But I must tell you, said I, by the way, you do not know what I am doing ; for if once I conquer my backwardness, and embark heartily, as old as I am, I shall harraßs you up and down the world till I tire you ; for I shall pursue it so eagerly, I shall never let you lie still.

But to be short with my speculations : a little while after this, there came in a *Dutch* ship from *Batavia* ; she was a coaster, not an *European* trader, and of about two hundred tons burden : the men, as they pretended, having been so sickly, that the captain had not men enough to go to sea with, he lay by at *Bengal* ; and, as if having got money enough, or being willing, for other reasons, to go for *Europe*, he gave public notice, that he would sell his ship : this came to my ears before my new partner heard of it ; and I had a great mind to buy it. So I went home to him, and told him of it : he considered awhile, for he was no rash man neither ; but musing some time, he replied, She is a little too big ; but, however, we will have her. Accordingly we bought the ship ; and, agreeing with the master, we paid

for her, and took possession; when we had done so, we resolved to entertain the men, if we could, to join them with those we had, for the pursuing our business; but on a sudden, they not having received their wages, but their share of the money, as we afterwards learnt, not one of them was to be found. We enquired much about them, and at length were told, that they were all gone together, by land, to *Agra*, the great city of the *Mogul's* residence; and from thence were to travel to *Surat*, and so by sea to the gulph of *Persia*.

Nothing had so heartily troubled me a good while, as that I missed the opportunity of going with them; for such a ramble, I thought, and in such company as would both have guarded me, and diverted me, would have suited mightily with my great design; and I should both have seen the world, and gone homewards too; but I was much better satisfied a few days after, when I came to know what sort of fellows they were; for, in short, their history was, that this man they called captain was the gunner only, not the commander; that they had been a trading voyage, in which they were attacked on shore by some of the *Malaccans*, who had killed the captain and three of his men; and that after the captain was killed, these men, eleven in number, had resolved to run away with the ship, which they did; and had brought her in at the bay of *Bengal*, leaving the mate and five men more on shore; of whom we shall hear farther.

Well; let them come by the ship how they would, we came honestly by her, as we thought; though we did not, I confess, examine into things so exactly

actly as we ought; for we never enquired any thing of the seamen, who, if we had examined, would certainly have faltered in their accounts, contradicted one another, and perhaps have contradicted themselves; or, one how or other, we should have seen reason to have suspected them: but the man shewed us a bill of sale for the ship, to one *Emanuel Clostershoven*, or some such name (for I suppose it was all a forgery) and called himself by that name; and we could not contradict him; and being withal a little too unwary, or at least, having no suspicion of the thing, we went through with our bargain.

However we picked up some *English* seamen here after this, and some *Dutch*; and we now resolved for a second voyage to the south-east, for cloves, &c. that is to say, among the *Philippine* and *Malacca* isles; and, in short, not to fill this part of my story with trifles, when what is yet to come is so remarkable, I spent, from first to last, six years in this country, trading from port to port, backward and forward, and with very good success; and was now the last year with my partner, going in the ship above-mentioned, on a voyage to *China*; but designing first to go to *Siam*, to buy rice.

In this voyage, being by contrary winds obliged to beat up and down a great while in the straits of *Malacca*, and among the islands, we were no sooner got clear of those difficult seas, but we found our ship had sprung a leak, and we were not able, by all our industry, to find out where it was. This forced us to make for some port; and my partner, who knew the country better than I did, directed the captain to put into the river of *Cambodia*; for I
had

had made the *English* mate, one Mr. *Thompson*, captain, not being willing to take the charge of the ship upon myself: This river lies on the north side of the great bay or gulph, which goes up to *Siam*.

While we were here, and going often on shore for refreshment, there comes to me one day an *Englishman*, and he was, it seems, a gunner's mate on board an *English East India* ship, which rode in the same river, up at, or near the city of *Cambodia*: what brought him hither we knew not; but he comes up to me, and, speaking *English*, Sir, says he, you are a stranger to me, and I to you; but I have something to tell you, that very nearly concerns you.

I looked stedfastly at him a good while, and he thought at first I had known him, but I did not: If it very nearly concerns me, said I, and not yourself, what moves you to tell it me? I am moved, says he, by the imminent danger you are in; and for aught I see, you have no knowledge of it. I know no danger I am in, said I, but that my ship is leaky, and I cannot find it out; but I propose to lay her aground to-morrow, to see if I can find it. But, Sir, says he, leaky or not leaky, find it or not find it, you will be wiser than to lay your ship on shore to-morrow, when you hear what I have to say to you: Do you know, Sir, said he, the town of *Cambodia* lies about fifteen leagues up this river? And there are two large *English* ships about five leagues on this side, and three *Dutch*. Well said I, and what is that to me? Why, Sir, says he, is it for a man that is upon such adventures as you are, to come into a port, and not examine first what ships there are there,
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and whether he is able to deal with them? I suppose you do not think you are a match for them? I was amused very much at his discourse, but not amazed at it; for I could not conceive what he meant; and I turned short upon him, and said, Sir, I wish you would explain yourself; I cannot imagine what reason I have to be afraid of any of the Company's ships, or *Dutch* ships; I am no interloper; what can they have to say to me?

He looked like a man half angry, half pleased; and, pausing awhile, but smiling, Well, Sir, says he, if you think yourself secure, you must take your chance; I am sorry your fate should blind you against good advice; but assure yourself, if you do not put to sea immediately, you will the very next tide be attacked by five long-boats full of men; and, perhaps if you are taken, you will be hanged for a pirate, and the particulars be examined into afterwards: I thought, Sir, added he, I should have met with a better reception than this, for doing you a piece of service of such importance. I can never be ungrateful, said I, for any service, or to any man that offers me any kindness; but it is past my comprehension, said I, what they should have such a design upon me for: However, since you say there is no time to be lost, and that there is some villainous design in hand against me, I will go on board this minute, and put to sea immediately, if my men can stop the leak, or if we can swim without stopping it: But, Sir, said I, shall I go away ignorant of the reason of all this? Can you give me no farther light into it?

I can

I can tell you but part of the story, Sir, says he ; but I have a *Dutch* seaman here with me, and, I believe, I could persuade him to tell you the rest ; but there is scarce time for it : But the short of the story is this, the first part of which, I suppose, you know well enough, *viz.* That you were with this ship at *Sumatra* ; that there your captain was murdered by the *Malaccans*, with three of his men ; and that you, or some of those that were on board with you, ran away with the ship, and are since turned PIRATES. This is the sum of the story, and you will all be seized as pirates, I can assure you, and executed with very little ceremony ; for you know merchant ships shew but little law to pirates, if they get them in their power.

Now you speak plain *English*, said I, and I thank you ; and though I know nothing that we have done, like what you talk of, but I am sure we came honestly and fairly by the ship ; yet seeing such work is a doing, as you say, and that you seem to mean honestly, I will be upon my guard. Nay, Sir, says he, do not talk of being upon your guard ; the best defence is to be out of the danger : if you have any regard to your life, and the lives of all your men, put out to sea without fail at high-water ; and as you have a whole tide before you, you will be gone too far out before they can come down ; for they will come away at high water ; and as they have twenty miles to come, you'll get near two hours of them by the difference of the tide, not reckoning the length of the way : Besides, as they are only boats, and not ships, they will not venture to follow you far out to sea, especially if it blows.

Well,

Well, said I, you have been very kind in this : What shall I do for you to make you amends ? Sir, says he, you may not be so willing to make me amends, because you may not be convinced of the truth of it : I will make an offer to you ; I have nineteen months pay due to me on board the ship ———, which I came out of *England* in ; and the *Dutchman*, that is with me, has seven months pay due to him ; if you will make good our pay to us, we will go along with you : If you find nothing more in it, we will desire no more ; but if we do convince you, that we have saved your life, and the ship, and the lives of all the men in her, we will leave the rest to you.

I consented to this readily ; and went immediately on board, and the two men with me. As soon as I came to the ship's side, my partner, who was on board, came on the quarter-deck, and called to me with a great deal of joy, O ho ! O ho ! we have stopped the leak ! Say you so, said I, thank God ; but weigh the anchor then immediately : Weigh ! says he, what do you mean by that ? What is the matter ? says he. Ask no questions, said I, but all hands to work, and weigh without losing a minute. He was surprised : But, however, he called the captain, and he immediately ordered the anchor to be got up ; and though the tide was not quite done, yet a little land-breeze blowing, we stood out to sea ; then I called him into the cabin, and told him the story at large ; and we called in the men, and they told us the rest of it : but as it took us up a great deal of time, so before we had done, a seaman comes to the cabin-door, and calls out to us, that
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the captain bade him tell us, we were chased : Chased, said I, by whom, and by what ? By five floops, or boats, said the fellow, full of men. Very well, said I ; then it is apparent there is something in it. In the next place, I ordered all our men to be called up : and told them, that there was a design to seize the ship, and to take us for pirates ; and asked them, if they would stand by us, and by one another ? The men answered, chearfully, one and all, that they would live and die with us. Then I asked the captain, what way he thought best for us to manage a fight with them : For resist them I resolved we would, and that to the last drop. He said, readily, that the way was to keep them off with our great shot, as long as we could, and then to fire at them with our small arms, to keep them from boarding us ; but when neither of these would do any longer, we should retire to our close quarters ; perhaps they had not materials to break open our bulk-heads, or get in upon us.

The gunner had, in the mean time, orders to bring two guns to bear fore and aft, out of the steerage, to clear the deck, and load them with musquet-bullets, and small pieces of old iron, and what next came to hand ; and thus we made ready for fight ; but all this while kept out to sea, with wind enough, and could see the boats at a distance, being five large long-boats following us, with all the sail they could make.

Two of these boats, which, by our glasses, we could see were *English*, had out-ailed the rest, were near two leagues a-head of them, and gained upon us considerably ; so that we found they would come
up

up with us : upon which we fired a gun without a shot, to intimate that they should bring to ; and we put out a flag of truce, as a signal for parley ; but they kept crowding after us, till they came within shot : upon this we took in our white flag, they having made no answer to it, hung out the red flag, and fired at them with shot : Notwithstanding this, they came on till they were near enough to call to them with a speaking trumpet, which we had on board ; so we called to them, and bade them keep off at their peril.

It was all one, they crowded after us, and endeavoured to come under our stern, so to board us on our quarter : Upon which, seeing they were resolute for mischief, and depended upon the strength that followed them, I ordered to bring the ship to, so that they lay upon our broadside, when immediately we fired five guns at them ; one of them had been levelled so true, as to carry away the stern of the hindermost boat, and bring them to the necessity of taking down their sail, and running all to the head of the boat to keep her from sinking ; so she lay by, and had enough of it ; but seeing the foremost boat still crowd on after us, we made ready to fire at her in particular.

While this was doing, one of the three boats that was behind, being forwarder than the other two, made up to the boat which we had disabled, to relieve her, and we could afterwards see her take out the men : we called again to the foremost boat, and offered a truce to parley again, and to know what was her business with us ; but had no answer : only she crowded close under our stern. Upon this our
gunner

gunner, who was a very dexterous fellow, run out his two chace guns, and fired at her ; but the shot missing, the men in the boat shouted, waved their caps, and came on ; but the gunner, getting quickly ready again, fired among them a second time ; one shot of which, though it missed the boat itself, yet fell in among the men, and we could easily see had done a great deal of mischief among them ; but we, taking no notice of that, woreed the ship again, and brought our quarter to bear upon them ; and, firing three guns more, we found the boat was split almost to pieces ; in particular, her rudder, and a piece of her stern, were shot quite away ; so they handed their sail immediately, and were in great disorder : but, to compleat their misfortune, our gunner let fly two guns at them again ; where he hit them we could not tell, but we found the boat was sinking, and some of the men already in the water :— Upon this I immediately manned out our pinnace, which we had kept close by our side, with orders to pick up some of the men, if they could, and save them from drowning, and immediately to come on board with them ; because we saw the rest of the boats began to come up. Our men in the pinnace followed their orders, and took up three men ; one of which was just drowning, and it was a good while before we could recover him. As soon as they were on board, we crowded all the sail we could make, and stood farther out to sea ; and we found, that when the other three boats came up to the first two, they gave over their chace.

Being

Being thus delivered from a danger, which tho' I knew not the reason of it, yet seemed to be much greater than I apprehended, I took care that we should change our course, and not let any one imagine whither we were going; so we stood out to sea eastward, quite out of the course of all *European* ships, whether they were bound to *China*, or any where else, within the commerce of the *European* nations.

When we were now at sea, we began to consult with the two seamen, and enquire first, what the meaning of all this should be? The *Dutchman* let us into the secret of it at once; telling us, that the fellow that sold us the ship, as we said, was no more than a thief that had run away with her. Then he told us how the captain, whose name too he mentioned, though I do not remember it now, was treacherously murdered by the natives on the coast of *Malacca*, with three of his men; and that he, this *Dutchman*, and four more, got into the woods, where they wandered about a great while; till at length, he, in particular, in a miraculous manner, made his escape, and swam off to a *Dutch* ship, which sailing near the shore, in its way from *China*, had sent their boat on shore for fresh water; that he durst not come to that part of the shore where the boat was, but made shift in the night to take in the water farther off, and swimming a great while, at last the ship's boat took him up.

He then told us, that he went to *Batavia*, where two of the seamen belonging to the ship had arrived, having deserted the rest in their travels; and gave an account, that the fellow who had run away with the ship, sold her at *Bengal* to a set of pirates, which

were gone a cruising in her; and that they had already taken an *English* ship, and two *Dutch* ships, very richly laden.

This latter part we found to concern us directly; and though we knew it to be false, yet, as my partner said very well, if we had fallen into their hands, and they had such a prepossession against us beforehand, it had been in vain for us to have defended ourselves, or to hope for any good quarters at their hands; especially considering that our accusers had been our judges, and that we could have expected nothing from them but what rage would have dictated, and ungoverned passion have executed; and therefore it was his opinion, we should go directly back to *Bengal*, from whence we came, without putting in at any port whatever; because there we could give an account of ourselves, and could prove where we were when the ship put in, whom we bought her of, and the like; and, which was more than all the rest, if we were put to the necessity of bringing it before the proper judges, we should be sure to have some justice; and not be hanged first, and judged afterwards.

I was some time of my partner's opinion; but after a little more serious thinking, I told him, I thought it was a very great hazard for us to attempt returning to *Bengal*, for that we were on the wrong side of the straits of *Malacca*; and that if the alarm was given, we should be sure to be way-laid on every side, as well by the *Dutch* of *Batavia*, as the *English* elsewhere; that if we should be taken, as it were, running away, we should even condemn ourselves, and there would want no more evidence to
destroy

destroy us. I also asked the *English* sailor's opinion, who said, he was of my mind, and that we should certainly be taken.

This danger a little startled my partner, and all the ship's company; and we immediately resolved to go away to the coast of *Tonquin*, and so on to *China*; and from thence pursuing the first design, as to trade, find some way or other to dispose of the ship, and come back in some of the vessels of the country, such as we could get. This was approved of as the best method for our security; and accordingly we steered away N. N. E. keeping above fifty leagues off from the usual course to the eastward.

This, however, put us to some inconveniencies; for first the winds, when we came to that distance from the shore, seemed to be more steadily against us, blowing almost trade, as we call it, from the east and E. N. E. so that we were a long while upon our voyage; and we were but ill provided with victuals for so long a run; and, which was still worse, there was some danger, that those *English* and *Dutch* ships, whose boats pursued us, whereof some were bound that way, might be got in before us; and if not, some other ship, bound to *China*, might have information of us from them, and pursue us with the same vigour.

I must confess, I was now very uneasy, and thought myself, including the late escape from the long-boats, to have been in the most dangerous condition that ever I was in through all my past life; for, whatever ill circumstances I had been in, I was never pursued for a thief before; nor had I ever done any thing

that merited the name of dishonest or fraudulent, much less thievish. I had chiefly been mine own enemy; or, as I may rightly say, I had been nobody's enemy but my own. But now I was embarrassed in the worst condition imaginable; for though I was perfectly innocent, I was in no condition to make that innocence appear. And if I had been taken, it had been under a supposed guilt of the worst kind; at least, a crime esteemed so among the people I had to do with.

This made me very anxious to make an escape, though which way to do it, I knew not; or what port or place we should go to. My partner, seeing me thus dejected, though he was the most concerned at first, began to encourage me; and describing to me the several ports of that coast, told me, he would put in on the coast of *Cochinchina*, or the bay of *Tonquin*; intending to go afterwards to *Macao*, a town once in the possession of the *Portuguese*, and where still a great many *European* families resided, and particularly the missionary priest usually went thither, in order to their going forward to *China*.

Hither we then resolved to go; and accordingly, though after a tedious and irregular course, and very much straitened for provisions, we came within sight of the coast very early in the morning; and, upon reflection upon the past circumstances we were in, and the danger, if we had not escaped, we resolved to put into a small river, which, however, had depth enough of water for us, and to see if we could, either over land or by the ship's pinnace, come to

know what ships were in any port thereabouts. This happy step was, indeed, our deliverance; for tho' we did not immediately see any *European* ships in the bay of *Tonquin*, yet, the next morning, there came into the bay two *Dutch* ships, and a third without any colours spread out, but which we believed to be a *Dutchman*, passed by at about two leagues distance, steering for the coast of *China*; and in the afternoon went by two *English* ships, steering the same course; and thus, we thought, we saw ourselves beset with enemies, both one way and the other. The place we were in was wild and barbarous, the people thieves, even by occupation or profession; and though, it is true, we had not much to seek of them, and except getting a few provisions, cared not how little we had to do with them; yet it was with much difficulty that we kept ourselves from being insulted by them several ways.

We were in a small river of this country, within a few leagues of its utmost limits northward; and by our boat we coasted north-east to the point of land which opens to the great bay of *Tonquin*; and it was in this beating up along the shore, that we discovered as above, that in a word, we were furrounded with enemies. The people we were among were the most barbarous of all the inhabitants of the coast; having no correspondence with any other nation, and dealing only in fish and oil, and such gross commodities; and it may be particularly seen, that they are, as I said, the most barbarous of any of the inhabitants, *viz.* that among other customs they have this one, that if any vessel had the misfortune

to be shipwrecked upon their coast, they presently make the men all prisoners ; that is to say, slaves ; and it was not long before we found a spice of their kindness this way, on the occasion following :

I have observed above, that our ship sprung a leak at sea, and that we could not find it out ; and however it happened, that, as I have said, it was stopped unexpectedly, in the happy minute of our being to be seized by the *Dutch* and *English* ships, near the bay of *Siam* ; yet, as we did not find the ship so perfectly tight and sound as we desired, we resolved, while we were in this place, to lay her on shore, take out what heavy things we had on board, which were not many, and to wash and clean her bottom ; and if possible, to find out where the leaks were.

Accordingly, having lightened the ship, and brought all our guns, and other moveable things, to one side, we tried to bring her down, that we might come at her bottom ; for, on second thoughts, we did not care to lay her dry a-ground, neither could we find out a proper place for it.

The inhabitants, who had never been acquainted with such a sight, came wondering down to the shore to look at us ; and seeing the ship lie down on one side in such a manner, and heeling towards the shore, and not seeing our men, who were at work on her bottom, with stages, and with their boats on the off side, they presently concluded that the ship was cast away, and lay so very fast on the ground.

On this supposition they came all about us in two or three hours time, with ten or twelve large boats,

having some of them eight, some ten men in a boat, intending, no doubt, to have come on board and plundered the ship; and if they had found us there, to have carried us away for slaves to their king, or whatever they call him, for we knew not who was their governor.

When they came up to the ship, and began to row round her, they discovered us all hard at work, on the outside of the ship's bottom and side, washing and graving, and stopping, as every seafaring man knows how.

They stood for a while gazing at us, and we, who were a little surprized, could not imagine what their design was; but, being willing to be sure, we took this opportunity to get some of us into the ship, and others to hand down arms and ammunition, to those that were at work to defend themselves with, if there should be occasion; and it was no more than need; for, in less than a quarter of an hour's consultation, they agreed, it seems, that the ship was really a wreck; that we were all at work, endeavouring to save her, or to save our lives by the help of our boats; and when we handed our arms into the boats, they concluded, by that motion, that we were endeavouring to save some of our goods. Upon this they took it for granted they all belonged to them; and away they came directly upon our men, as if it had been in a line of battle.

Our men, seeing so many of them, began to be frightened; for we lay but in an ill posture to fight, and cried out to us to know what they should do? I immediately called to the men who worked upon the

stages, to slip them down, and get up the side into the ship; and bade those in the boat to row round and come on board: and those few of us who were on board, worked with all the strength and hands we had, to bring the ship to rights; but however, neither the men upon the stage, nor those in the boats, could do as they were ordered, before the *Cochinchinese* were upon them; and, with two of their boats boarded our long-boat, and began to lay hold of the men as their prisoners.

The first man they laid hold of was an *English* seaman, a stout strong fellow, who having a musquet in his hand, never offered to fire it, but laid it down in the boat, like a fool, as I thought. But he understood his business better than I could teach him; for he grappled the pagan, and dragged him by main force out of their own boat into ours; where, taking him by the two ears, he beat his head so against the boat's gunnel, that the fellow died instantly in his hands; and in the mean time, a *Dutchman*, who stood next, took up the musquet, and with the butt-end of it, so laid about him, that he knocked down five of them, who attempted to enter the boat: but this was little towards resisting thirty or forty men, who fearless, because ignorant of their danger, began to throw themselves into the long-boat, where we had but five men to defend it: but one accident gave our men a complete victory, which deserved our laughter rather than any thing else; and that was this:—

Our carpenter being prepared to grave the outside of the ship, as well as to pay the seams where
he

he had caulked her, to stop the leaks, had got two kettles just let down into the boat; one filled with boiling pitch, and the other with rosin, tallow, and oil, and such stuff as the shipwrights used for that work; and the man that tended the carpenter had a great iron ladle in his hand, with which he supplied the men that were at work with that hot stuff: two of the enemy's men entered the boat just where this fellow stood, being in the fore-sheets; he immediately saluted them with a ladleful of the stuff, boiling hot, which so burnt and scalded them, being half naked, that they roared out like two bulls, and enraged with the fire, leaped both into the sea. The carpenter saw it, and cried out, Well done, *Jack*, give them some more of it; when stepping forward himself, he takes one of their mops, and dipping it in the pitch pot, he and his man threw it among them so plentifully, that, in short, of all the men in three boats, there was not one that was not scalded and burnt with it in a most frightful pitiful manner, and made such an howling and crying, that I never heard a worse noise, and, indeed, nothing like it: for it was worth observing, that tho' pain naturally makes all people cry out, yet every nation have a particular way of exclamation, and make noises as different from one another as their speech. I cannot give the noise these creatures made a better name than howling, nor a name more proper to the tone of it; for I never heard any thing more like the noise of the wolves, which, as I have said, I heard howl in the forest on the frontiers of *Languedoc*.

I was

I was never pleased with a victory better in my life; not only as it was a perfect surprise to me, and that our danger was imminent before; but as we got this victory without any bloodshed, except of that man the fellow killed with his naked hands, and which I was very much concerned at; for I was sick of killing such poor savage wretches, even though it was in my own defence, knowing they came on errands which they thought just, and knew no better: and that though it may be a just thing, because necessary, for there is no necessary wickedness in nature; yet I thought it was a sad life, when we must be always obliged to be killing our fellow-creatures to preserve ourselves; and, indeed, I think so still; and I would, even now, suffer a great deal, rather than I would take away the life even of the worst person injuring me. I believe also, all considering people, who know the value of life, would be of my opinion, if they entered seriously into the consideration of it.

But to return to my story: All the while this was doing, my partner and I, who managed the rest of the men on board, had, with great dexterity, brought the ship almost to rights; and, having gotten the guns into their places again, the gunner called to me, to bid our boat get out of the way, for he would let fly among them. I called back again to him, and bid him not offer to fire, for the carpenter would do the work without him; but bade him heat another pitch kettle; which our cook, who was on board, took care of. But the enemy was so terrified with what they met with in their first attack, that they would not come on again; and some of them, that were farthest off, seeing the ship swim, as it were, upright, began

began, as we supposed, to see their mistake, and gave over the enterprise, finding it was not as they expected. Thus we got clear of this merry fight; and, having gotten some rice, and some roots and bread, with about sixteen good big hogs, on board, two days before, we resolved to stay here no longer, but go forward, whatever came of it; for we made no doubt but we should be surrounded the next day with rogues enough, perhaps more than our pitch-kettle would dispose of for us.

We, therefore, got all our things on board the same evening, and the next morning were ready to sail. In the mean time, lying at an anchor some distance from the shore, we were not so much concerned, being now in a fighting posture, as well as in a sailing posture, if any enemy had presented. The next day, having finished our work within board, and finding our ship was perfectly healed of all her leaks, we set sail: we would have gone into the bay of *Tonquin*, for we wanted to inform ourselves of what was to be known concerning the *Dutch* ships that had been there; but we durst not stand in there, because we had seen several ships go in, as we supposed, but a little before; so we kept on N. E. towards the isle of *Formosa*, as much afraid of being seen by a *Dutch* or *English* merchant ship, as a *Dutch* or *English* merchant ship in the *Mediterranean* is of an *Algerine* man of war.

When we were thus got to sea, we kept on N. E. as if we would go to the *Manillas* or the *Philippine* islands, and this we did, that we might not fall into the way of any of the *European* ships; and then we steered north again, till we came to the latitude of
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of 22 deg. 20 min. by which means we made the island of *Formosa* directly, where we came to an anchor, in order to get water and fresh provisions, which the people there, who are very courteous and civil in their manners, supplied us with willingly, and dealt very fairly and punctually with us in all their agreements and bargains; which is what we did not find among other people; and may be owing to the remains of Christianity, which was once planted here by a *Dutch* missionary of protestants, and is a testimony of what I have often observed, *viz.* That the Christian religion always civilizes the people, and reforms their manners, where it is received, whether it works saving effects upon them or not.

From hence we sailed still north, keeping the coast of *China* at an equal distance, till we knew we were beyond all the ports of *China*, where our *European* ships usually come; but being resolved, if possible, not to fall into any of their hands, especially in this country, where, as our circumstances were, we could not fail of being entirely ruined; nay, so great was my fear in particular, as to my being taken by them, that I believe firmly I would much rather have chosen to fall into the hands of the *Spanish* inquisition.

Being now come to the latitude of 30 degrees, we resolved to put into the first trading port we should come at; and standing in for the shore, a boat came off two leagues to us, with an old *Portuguese* pilot on board, who, knowing us to be an *European* ship, came to offer his service, which, indeed, we were very glad of, and took him on board; upon which, without asking us whither we would go, he dismissed the boat he came in, and sent it back.

I thought

I thought it was now so much in our choice to make the old man carry us whither we would, that I began to talk with him about carrying us to the *Gulph* of *Nanquin*, which is the most northern part of the coast of *China*. The old man said he knew the *Gulph* of *Nanquin* very well; but smiling, asked us what we would do there?

I told him we would sell our cargo, and purchase *China* wares, callicoes, raw silks, tea, wrought silks, &c. and so would return by the same course we came. He told us our best port had been to have put in at *Macao*, where we could not fail of a market for our opium, to our satisfaction, and might, for our money, have purchased all sorts of *China* goods, as cheap as we could at *Nanquin*.

Not being able to put the old man out of his talk, of which he was very opinionated, or conceited, I told him, we were gentlemen as well as merchants; and that we had a mind to go and see the great city of *Pekin*, and the famous court of the monarch of *China*. Why then, says the old man, you should go to *Ningpo*, where, by the river that runs into the sea there, you may go up within five leagues of the great canal. This canal is a navigable made stream, which goes through the heart of all that vast empire of *China*, crosses all the rivers, passes some considerable hills by the help of sluices and gates, and goes up to the city of *Pekin*, being in length near 270 leagues.

Well, said I, Seignior *Portuguese*, but that is not our business now: the great question is, If you can carry us up to the city of *Nanquin*, from whence we can travel to *Pekin* afterwards? Yes, he said, he could

could do so very well, and there was a great *Dutch* ship gone up that way just before. This gave me a little shock ; a *Dutch* ship was now our terror, and we had much rather have met the devil, at least if he had not come in too frightful a figure : we depended upon it, that a *Dutch* ship would be our destruction, for we were in no condition to fight them ; all the ships they trade with in those parts being of great burden, and of much greater force than we were.

The old man found me a little confused, and under some concern, when he named a *Dutch* ship ; and said to me, Sir, you need be under no apprehension of the *Dutch*, I suppose they are not now at war with your nation. No, said I, that's true ; but I know not what liberties men may take, when they are out of the reach of the laws of their country. Why, said he, you are no pirates, what need you fear ? They will not meddle with peaceable merchants, sure.

If I had any blood in my body that did not fly up into my face at that word, it was hindered by some stop in the vessels appointed by nature to circulate it ; for it put me into the greatest disorder and confusion imaginable ; nor was it possible for me to conceal it so, but that the old man easily perceived it.

Sir, said he, I find you are in some disorder in your thoughts at my talk : pray be pleased to go which way you think fit ; and depend upon it, I'll do you all the service I can. Why, Seignior, said I, it is true, I am a little unsettled in my resolution at this time, whither to go in particular ; and I am something more so, for what you said about pirates ; I hope there are no pirates in these seas ; we are but
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in an ill condition to meet with them ; for you see we have but a small force, and but very weakly manned.

O, Sir, said he, do not be concerned ; I do not know that there have been any pirates in these seas these fifteen years, except one, which was seen, as I hear, in the bay of *Siam*, about a month since ; but you may be assured she is gone to the southward ; nor was she a ship of any great force, or fit for the work : she was not built for a privateer, but was run away with by a reprobate crew that were on board, after the captain and some of his men had been murdered by the *Malaccans*, at or near the island of *Sumatra*.

What ! said I, seeming to know nothing of the matter, did they murder the captain ? No, said he, I do not understand that they murdered him ; but, as they afterwards ran away with the ship, it is generally believed they betrayed him into the hands of the *Malaccans*, who did murder him ; and, perhaps, they procured them to do it. Why then, said I, they deserved death, as much as if they had done it themselves. Nay, said the old man, they do deserve it ; and they will certainly have it if they light upon any *English* or *Dutch* ship ; for they have all agreed together, that if they meet that rogue, they will give him no quarter.

But, said I to him, you say the pirate is gone out of these seas ; how can they meet with him then ? Why, that is true, said he, they do say so ; but he was, as I tell you, in the bay of *Siam*, in the river *Cambodia*, and was discovered there by some *Dutchmen*, who belonged to the ship, and who were left on shore when

when they run away with her ; and some *English* and *Dutch* traders being in the river, they were within a little of taking him. Nay, said he, if the foremost boats had been well seconded by the rest, they had certainly taken him ; but he, finding only two boats within reach of him, tacked about, and fired at these two, and disabled them before the others came up ; and then standing off to sea, the others were not able to follow him, and so he got away. But they have all so exact a description of the ship, that they will be sure to know him ; and wherever they find him, they have vowed to give no quarter to either the captain or the seamen, but to hang them all up at the yard-arm.

What ! said I, will they execute them right or wrong ; hang them first, and judge them afterwards ? O, Sir ! said the old pilot, there is no need to make a formal business of it with such rogues as those ; let them tie them back to back, and set them a diving ; it is no more than they rightly deserve.

I knew I had my old man fast aboard, and that he could do me no harm ; so I turned short upon him : Well, Seignior, said I, and this is the very reason why I would have you carry us to *Nanquin*, and not to put back to *Macao*, or to any other part of the country, where the *English* or *Dutch* ships came ; for, be it known to you, Seignior, those captains of the *English* and *Dutch* ships, are a parcel of rash, proud, insolent fellows, that neither know what belongs to justice, or how to behave themselves, as the laws of God and nature direct ; but being proud of their offices, and not understanding their power, they would act the murderers to punish robbers ;

robbers; would take upon them to insult men falsely accused, and determine them guilty without due enquiry; and perhaps I may live to call some of them to an account for it, where they may be taught how justice is to be executed; and that no man ought to be treated as a criminal till some evidence may be had of the crime, and that he is the man.

With this I told him, that this was the very ship they had attacked; and gave him a full account of the skirmish we had with their boats, and how foolishly and coward-like they had behaved. I told him all the story of our buying the ship, and how the *Dutchmen* served us. I told him the reasons I had to believe that this story of killing the master by the *Malaccans* was not true; as also the running away with the ship; but that it was all a fiction of their own, to suggest that the men were turned pirates; and they ought to have been sure it was so, before they had ventured to attack us by surprise, and oblige us to resist them; adding, that they would have the blood of those men, who were killed there, in our just defence, to answer for.

The old man was amazed at this relation; and told us, we were very much in the right to go away to the north; and that if he might advise us, it should be to sell the ship in *China*, which we might very well do, and buy or build another in the country: and, said he, though you will not get so good a ship, yet you may get one able enough to carry you and all your goods back again to *Bengal*, or any where else.

I told him I would take his advice, when I came to any port where I could find a ship for my turn, or get any customer to buy this. He replied, I should

meet with customers enough for the ship at *Nanquin*, and that a *Chinese* junk would serve me very well to go back again; and that he would procure me people both to buy one, and sell the other.

Well, but, Seignior, says I, as you say they know the ship so well, I may, perhaps, if I follow your measures, be instrumental to bring some honest innocent men into a terrible broil, and, perhaps, be murdered in cold blood; for wherever they find the ship they will prove the guilt upon the men, by proving this was the ship; and so innocent men may probably be overpowered and murdered. Why, said the old man, I'll find out a way to prevent that also; for as I know all those commanders you speak of very well, and shall see them all as they pass by, I will be sure to set them to rights in the thing, and let them know that they had been so much in the wrong; that though the people who were on board at first might run away with the ship, yet it was not true that they had turned pirates; and that in particular those were not the men that first went off with the ship, but innocently bought her for their trade: and I am persuaded they will so far believe me, as, at least, to act more cautiously for the time to come. Well, said I, and will you deliver one message to them from me? Yes, I will, says he, if you will give it under your hand, in writing, that I may be able to prove it came from you, and not out of my own head. I answered, that I would readily give it him under my hand. So I took a pen and ink, and paper, and wrote at large the story of assaulting me with the long-boats, &c. the pretended reason of it, and the unjust cruel design of it; and concluded to the commanders, that they
had

had done what they not only should have been ashamed of, but also, that if ever they came to *England*, and I lived to see them there, they should all pay dearly for it, if the laws of my country were not grown out of use before I arrived there.

My old pilot read this over and over again, and asked me several times, if I would stand to it. I answered, I would stand to it as long as I had any thing left in the world ; being sensible that I should, one time or other, find an opportunity to put it home to them. But we had no occasion ever to let the pilot carry this letter ; for he never went back again. While those things were passing between us, by way of discourse, we went forward directly for *Nanquin*, and, in about thirteen days sail, came to anchor at the south-west point of the great gulph of *Nanquin* ; where, by the way, I came by accident to understand, that the two *Dutch* ships were gone that length before me, and that I should certainly fall into their hands. I consulted my partner again in this exigency, and he was as much at a loss as I was, and would very gladly have been safe on shore almost any where. However, I was not in such perplexity neither, but I asked the old pilot if there was no creek, or harbour, which I might put into, and pursue my business with the *Chinese* privately, and be in no danger of the enemy ? He told me, if I would sail to the southward about two and forty leagues, there was a little port called *Quinchang*, where the fathers of the mission usually landed from *Macao*, on their progress to teach the Christian religion to the *Chinese*, and where no *European* ships ever put in ; and, if I thought proper to put in there, I might con-

sider what farther course to take when I was on shore. He confessed, he said, it was not a place for merchants, except that at some certain times they had a kind of a fair there, when the merchants from *Japan* came over thither to buy the *Chinese* merchandizes.

We all agreed to go back to this place: the name of the port, as he called it, I may, perhaps spell wrong; for I do not particularly remember it, having lost this, together with the names of many other places set down in a little pocket-book, which was spoiled by the water, on an accident which I shall relate in its order; but this I remember, that the *Chinese* or *Japanese* merchants we correspond with call it by a different name from that which our *Portuguese* pilot gave it, and pronounced it as above, *Quinchang*.

As we were unanimous in our resolutions to go to this place, we weighed the next day, having only gone twice on shore, where we were to get fresh water; on both which occasions the people of the country were very civil to us, and brought us abundance of things to sell to us; I mean of provisions, plants, roots, tea, rice, and some fowls; but nothing without money.

We came to the other port (the wind being contrary) not till five days; but it was very much to our satisfaction; and I was joyful, and, I may say, thankful, when I set my foot safe on shore; resolving, and my partner too, that if it was possible to dispose of ourselves and effects any other way, though not every way to our satisfaction, we would never set one foot on board that unhappy vessel again: and indeed,
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I must acknowledge, that of all the circumstances of life that ever I had any experience of, nothing makes mankind so completely miserable as that of being in constant fear. Well does the scripture say, 'The fear of man brings a snare;' it is a life of death; and the mind is so entirely suppressed by it, that it is capable of no relief; the animal spirits sink, and all the vigour of nature, which usually supports men under other afflictions, and is present to them in the greatest exigencies, fails them here.

Nor did it fail of its usual operations upon the fancy, by heightening every danger; representing the *English* and *Dutch* captains to be men incapable of hearing reason, or distinguishing between honest men and rogues; or between a story calculated for our own turn, made out of nothing, on purpose to deceive, and a true genuine account of our whole voyage, progress, and design; for we might many ways have convinced any reasonable creature that we were not pirates; the goods we had on board, the course we steered, our frankly shewing ourselves, and entering into such and such ports; even our very manner, the force we had, the number of men, the few arms, little ammunition, and short provisions; all these would have served to convince any man that we were no pirates. The opium, and other goods we had on board, would make it appear the ship had been at *Bengal*; the *Dutchmen*, who, it was said, had the names of all the men that were in the ship, might easily see that we were a mixture of *English*, *Portuguese*, and *Indians*, and but two *Dutchmen* on board. These, and many other particular circumstances, might have made it evident to the understanding of any commander,

whose hands we might fall into, that we were no pirates.

But fear, that blind useless passion, worked another way, and threw us into the vapours ; it bewildered our understandings, and set the imagination at work, to form a thousand terrible things, that, perhaps, might never happen. We first supposed, as indeed every body had related to us, that the seamen on board the *English* and *Dutch* ships, but especially the *Dutch*, were so enraged at the name of a pirate, and especially at our beating off their boats, and escaping, that they would not give themselves leave to enquire whether we were pirates or no ; but would execute us off-hand, as we call it, without giving us any room for a defence. We reflected that there was really so much apparent evidence before them, that they would scarce enquire after any more : as, first, that the ship was certainly the same, and that some of the seamen among them knew her, and had been on board her ; and, secondly, that when we had intelligence at the river *Cambodia*, that they were coming down to examine us, we fought their boats, and fled : So that we made no doubt but they were as fully satisfied of our being pirates, as we were satisfied of the contrary ; and I often said, I knew not but I should have been apt to have taken the little circumstances for evidence, if the tables were turned, and my case was theirs ; and have made no scruple of cutting all the crew to pieces, without believing, or perhaps considering, what they might have to offer in their defence.

But let that be how it will, those were our apprehensions ; and both my partner and I too, scarce slept
a night

a night without dreaming of halters and yard-arms; that is to say, gibbets; of fighting, and being taken; of killing, and being killed; and one night I was in such a fury in my dream, fancying the *Dutchmen* had boarded us, and I was knocking one of their seamen down, that I struck my double fist against the side of the cabin I lay in, with such a force as wounded my hand most grievously, broke my knuckles, and cut and bruised the flesh, so that it not only waked me out of my sleep, but I was once afraid I should have lost two of my fingers.

Another apprehension I had, was, of the cruel usage we should meet with from them, if we fell into their hands: then the story of *Amboyna* came into my head, and how the *Dutch* might, perhaps, torture us, as they did our countrymen there; and make some of our men, by extremity of torture, confess those crimes they never were guilty of; own themselves, and all of us, to be pirates; and so they would put us to death, with a formal appearance of justice; and that they might be tempted to do this, for the gain of our ship and cargo, which was worth four or five thousand pounds, put all together.

These things tormented me, and my partner too, night and day; nor did we consider that the captains of ships have no authority to act thus; and if we had surrendered prisoners to them, they could not answer the destroying us, or torturing us, but would be accountable for it when they came into their own country. This, I say, gave me no satisfaction; for, if they will act thus with us, what advantage would it be to us that they would be called to an account for it; or, if we were first to be murdered, what satis-

faction would it be to us to have them punished when they came home?

I cannot refrain taking notice here what reflections I now had upon the past variety of my particular circumstances; how hard I thought it was, that I, who had spent forty years in a life of continued difficulties, and was, at last, come, as it were, at the port or haven which all men drive at, *viz.* to have rest and plenty, should be a volunteer in new sorrows, by my own unhappy choice; and that I, who had escaped so many dangers in my youth, should now come to be hanged in my old age, and in so remote a place, for a crime I was not in the least inclined to, much less guilty of; and in a place and circumstance, where innocence was not like to be any protection at all to me.

After these thoughts, something of religion would come in; and I would be considering that this seemed to me to be a disposition of immediate Providence; and I ought to look upon it, and submit to it, as such: that although I was innocent as to men, I was far from being innocent as to my Maker; and I ought to look in, and examine what other crimes in my life were most obvious to me, and for which Providence might justly inflict this punishment as a retribution; and that I ought to submit to this, just as I would to a shipwreck, if it had pleased God to have brought such a disaster upon me.

In its turn, natural courage would sometimes take its place; and then I would be talking myself up to vigorous resolution, that I would not be taken to be barbarously used by a parcel of merciless wretches in cold blood; that it was much better to have fallen
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into the hands of the savages, who were men-eaters, and who, I was sure, would feast upon me, when they had taken me, than by those, who would, perhaps, glut their rage upon me by inhuman tortures and barbarities: that, in the case of the savages, I always resolved to die fighting, to the last gasp; and why should I not do so now, seeing it was much more dreadful, to me at least, to think of falling into these men's hands, than ever it was to think of being eaten by men: for the savages, give them their due, would not eat a man till he was dead; and killed him first, as we do a bullock; but that these men had many arts beyond the cruelty of death. Whenever these thoughts prevailed, I was sure to put myself into a kind of fever, with the agitations of a supposed fight; my blood would boil, and my eyes sparkle, as if I was engaged; and I always resolved that I would take no quarter at their hands; but even at last, if I could resist no longer, I would blow up the ship, and all that was in her, and leave them but little booty to boast of.

But by how much the greater weight the anxieties and perplexities of those things were to our thoughts while we were at sea, by so much the greater was our satisfaction, when we saw ourselves on shore; and my partner told me, he dreamed, that he had a very heavy load upon his back, which he was to carry up an hill, and found that he was not able to stand long under it; but the *Portuguese* pilot came, and took it off his back, and the hill disappeared, the ground before him shewing all smooth and plain: And truly it was so; we were all like men who had a load taken off their backs.

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For my part, I had a weight taken off from my heart, that I was not able any longer to bear; and, as I said above, we resolved to go no more to sea in that ship. When we came on shore, the old pilot, who was now our friend, got us a lodging, and a warehouse for our goods, which, by the way, was much the same: it was a little house or hut, with a large house joining to it, all built with canes, and palisadoed round with large canes, to keep out pilfering thieves, of which it seems there were not a few in the country. However, the magistrates allowed us all a little guard, and we had a foldier with a kind of halbert, or half pike, who stood sentinel at our door; to whom we allowed a pint of rice, and a little piece of money, about the value of three-pence per day: so that our goods were kept very safe.

The fair or mart, usually kept in this place, had been over some time; however, we found that there were three or four junks in the river, and two *Japaners*, I mean, ships from *Japan*, with goods which they had bought in *China*, and were not gone away, having *Japanese* merchants on shore.

The first thing our old *Portuguese* pilot did for us, was, to bring us acquainted with three missionary *Romish* priests, who were in the town, and who had been there some time, converting the people to Christianity; but we thought they made but poor work of it; and made them but sorry Christians when they had done. However, that was not our business. One of these was a *Frenchman*, whom they called father *Simon*; he was a jolly well-conditioned man, very free in his conversation, not seeming so serious and grave as the other two did, one of whom
was

was a *Portuguese*, and the other a *Genoese*; but father *Simon* was courteous, easy in his manner, and very agreeable company; the other two were more reserved, seemed rigid and austere, and applied seriously to the work they came about, *viz.* to talk with, and insinuate themselves among the inhabitants, wherever they had opportunity: we often eat and drank with those men: and though I must confess, the conversion, as they call it, of the *Chinese* to Christianity, is so far from the true conversion required to bring heathen people to the faith of CHRIST, that it seems to amount to little more than letting them know the name of CHRIST, say some prayers to the *Virgin Mary*, and her Son, in a tongue which they understand not, and to cross themselves, and the like; yet it must be confessed, that these religious, whom we call Missionaries, have a firm belief that these people should be saved, and that they are the instrument of it; and, on this account, they undergo not only the fatigue of the voyage, and hazards of living in such places, but oftentimes death itself, with the most violent tortures, for the sake of this work: and it would be a great want of charity in us, whatever opinion we have of the work itself, and the manner of their doing it, if we should not have a good opinion of their zeal, who undertake it with so many hazards, and who have no prospect of the least temporal advantage to themselves.

But, to return to my story: This *French* priest, father *Simon*, was appointed, it seems, by order of the chief of the mission, to go up to *Pekin*, the royal seat of the *Chinese* emperor; and waited only for another priest, who was ordered to come to him from
Macao,

Macao, to go along with him ; and we scarce ever met together, but he was inviting me to go that journey with him, telling me, how he would shew me all the glorious things of that mighty empire ; and among the rest, the greatest city in the world ; a city, said he, that your *London*, and our *Paris*, put together, cannot be equal to. This was the city of *Pekin*, which, I confess, is very great, and infinitely full of people ; but, as I looked on those things with different eyes from other men, so I shall give my opinion of them in few words, when I come, in the course of my travels, to speak more particularly of them.

But first, I come to my friar or missionary : Dining with him one day, and being very merry together, I shewed some little inclination to go with him ; and he pressed me and my partner very hard, and with a great many persuasions to consent. Why, father *Simon*, says my partner, why should you desire our company so much ? You know we are heretics, and you do not love us, nor can keep us company with any pleasure. O ! says he, you may, perhaps, be good catholics in time ; my business here is to convert heathens ; and who knows but I may convert you too ? Very well, father, said I, so you will preach to us all the way. I won't be troublesome to you, said he ; our religion does not divest us of good manners ; besides, said he, we are all here like countrymen ; and so we are, compared to the place we are in ; and if you are hugonots, and I a catholic, we may be all Christians at last ; at least, said he, we are all gentlemen, and we may converse so, without being uneasy to one another. I liked that part of his discourse very well, and it began to put me in mind of my
priest

priest that I had left in the *Brasils* ; but this father *Simon* did not come up to his character by a great deal ; for though father *Simon* had no appearance of a criminal levity in him neither, yet he had not that fund of Christian zeal, strict piety, and sincere affection to religion, that my other good ecclesiastic had, of whom I have said so much.

But to leave him a little, though he never left us, nor soliciting us to go with him, but we had something else before us at that time ; for we had, all this while, our ship and our merchandize to dispose of ; and we began to be very doubtful what we should do, for we were now in a place of very little business ; and once I was about to venture to sail for the river of *Kilam*, and the city of *Nanquin* : But Providence seemed now more visibly, as I thought, than ever, to concern itself in our affairs ; and I was encouraged from this very time to think I should, one way or other, get out of this entangled circumstance, and be brought home to my own country again ; though I had not the least view of the manner ; and when I began sometimes to think of it, could not imagine by what method it was to be done. Providence, I say, began here to clear up our way a little ; and the first thing that offered was, that our old *Portuguese* pilot brought a *Japan* merchant to us, who began to enquire what goods we had ; and, in the first place, he bought all our opium, and gave us a very good price for it, paying us in gold by weight, some in small pieces of their own coin, and some in small wedges, of about ten or eleven ounces each. While we were dealing with him for our opium, it came into my head that he might, perhaps, deal with us for the ship too ;

too; and I ordered the interpreter to propose it to him. He shrunk up his shoulders at it, when it was first proposed to him; but, in a few days after, he came to me, with one of the missionary priests for his interpreter, and told me, he had a proposal to make to me, and that was this: He had bought a great quantity of goods of us when he had no thoughts (or proposals made to him) of buying the ship; and that, therefore, he had not money enough to pay for the ship; but if I would let the same men who were in the ship navigate her, he would hire the ship to go to *Japan*, and would send them from thence to the *Philippine* islands with another loading, which he would pay the freight of, before they went from *Japan*; and that, at their return, he would buy the ship. I began to listen to this proposal; and so eager did my head still run upon rambling, that I could not but begin to entertain a notion myself of going with him, and so to sail from the *Philippine* islands away to the *South Seas*; and accordingly I asked the *Japanese* merchant, if he would not hire us to the *Philippine* islands, and discharge us there. He said, no, he could not do that; for then he could not have the return of his cargo; but he would discharge us in *Japan*, he said, at the ship's return. Well, still I was for taking him at that proposal, and going myself; but my partner, wiser than myself, persuaded me from it, representing the dangers, as well of the seas, as of the *Japanese*, who are a false, cruel, and treacherous people; and then of the *Spaniards* at the *Philippines*; more false, more cruel, more treacherous than they.

But

But, to bring this long turn of our affairs to a conclusion: the first thing we had to do, was to consult with the captain of the ship, and with the men, and know if they were willing to go to *Japan*; and, while I was doing this, the young man, whom, as I said, my nephew had left with me as my companion for my travels, came to me and told me, that he thought that voyage promised very fair, and that there was a great prospect of advantage, and he would be very glad if I undertook it; but that if I would not, and would give him leave, he would go as a merchant, or how I pleased to order him; that if ever he came to *England*, and I was there, and alive, he would render me a faithful account of his success, and it should be as much mine as I pleased.

I was really loth to part with him; but, considering the prospect of advantage, which was really considerable, and that he was a young fellow as likely to do well in it as any I knew, I inclined to let him go; but first I told him I would consult my partner, and give him an answer the next day. My partner and I discoursed about it; and my partner made a most generous offer: he told me, you know it has been an unlucky ship, and we both resolve not to go to sea in it again; if your steward (so he called my man) will venture the voyage, I'll leave my share of the vessel to him, and let him make the best of it; and if we live to meet in *England*, and he meets with success abroad, he shall account for one half of the profits of the ship's freight to us, the other shall be his own.

If my partner, who was no way concerned with my young man, made him such an offer, I could do no

less than offer him the same ; and all the ship's company being willing to go with him, we made over half the ship to him in property, and took a writing from him, obliging him to account for the other ; and away he went to *Japan*. The *Japan* merchant proved a very punctual honest man to him, protected him at *Japan*, and got him a licence to come on shore, which the *Europeans* in general have not lately obtained ; paid him his freight very punctually, sent him to the *Philippines*, loaded him with *Japan* and *China* wares, and a supercargo of their own, who trafficking with the *Spaniards*, brought back *European* goods again, and a great quantity of cloves, and other spice ; and there he was not only paid his freight very well, and at a very good price, but being not willing to sell the ship then, the merchant furnished him with goods on his own account ; that, for some money, and some spices of his own, which he brought with him, he went back to the *Manillas*, to the *Spaniards*, where he sold his cargo very well. Here, having gotten a good acquaintance at *Manilla*, he got his ship made a free ship ; and the governor of *Manilla* hired him to go to *Acapulco* in *America*, on the coast of *Mexico* ; and gave him a licence to land there, and travel to *Mexico* ; and to pass in any *Spanish* ship to *Europe*, with all his men.

He made the voyage to *Acapulco* very happily, and there he sold his ship ; and having there also obtained allowance to travel by land to *Porto Bello*, he found means, some how or other, to go to *Jamaica* with all his treasure ; and about eight years after came to *England*, exceeding rich ; of which I shall take notice in
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its place; in the mean time, I return to our particular affairs.

Being now to part with the ship, and ship's company, it came before us, of course, to consider what recompence we should give to the two men, that gave us such timely notice of the design against us in the river of *Cambodia*. The truth was, they had done us a considerable service, and deserved well at our hands; though, by the way, they were a couple of rogues too: for, as they believed the story of our being pirates, and that we had really run away with the ship, they came down to us, not only to betray the design that was formed against us, but to go to sea with us as pirates; and one of them confessed afterwards, that nothing else but the hopes of going a roguing brought him to do it. However, the service they did us was not the less; and therefore, as I had promised to be grateful to them, I first ordered the money to be paid to them, which they said was due to them on board their respective ships; that is to say, the *Englishman* nineteen months pay, and to the *Dutchman* seven; and, over and above that, I gave each of them a small sum of money in gold, which contented them very well: then I made the *Englishman* gunner of the ship, the gunner being now made second mate and purser; the *Dutchman* I made boatswain: so they were both very well pleased, and proved very serviceable, being both able seamen, and very stout fellows.

We were now on shore in *China*. If I thought myself banished, and remote from my own country at *Bengal*, where I had many ways to get home for my money, what could I think of myself now, when

I was gotten about a thousand leagues farther off from home, and perfectly destitute of all manner of prospect of return!

All we had for it was this; that in about four months time there was to be another fair at that place where we were, and then we might be able to purchase all sorts of the manufactures of the country, and withal might possibly find some *Chinese* junks or vessels from *Nanquin*, that would be to be sold, and would carry us and our goods whither we pleased. This I liked very well, and resolved to wait; besides, as our particular persons were not obnoxious, so if any *English* or *Dutch* ships came thither, perhaps we might have an opportunity to load our goods, and get passage to some other place in *India* nearer home.

Upon these hopes we resolved to continue here; but, to divert ourselves, we took two or three journeys into the country; first, we went ten days journey to see the city of *Nanquin*, a city well worth seeing indeed: they say it has a million of people in it; which, however, I do not believe: It is regularly built, the streets all exactly strait, and cross one another in direct lines, which gives the figure of it great advantage.

But when I came to compare the miserable people of these countries with our's; their fabrics, their manner of living, their government, their religion, their wealth, and their glory (as some call it), I must confess, I do not so much as think it worth naming, or worth my while to write of, or any that shall come after me to read.

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It is very observable, that we wonder at the grandeur, the riches, the pomp, the ceremonies, the government, the manufactures, the commerce, and the conduct of these people ; not that they are to be wondered at, or, indeed, in the least to be regarded ; but because, having first a notion of the barbarity of those countries, the rudeness, and the ignorance that prevail there, we do not expect to find any such things so far off.

Otherwise, what are their buildings to the palaces and royal buildings of *Europe* ? What their trade to the universal commerce of *England, Holland, France, and Spain* ? What their cities to our's, for wealth, strength, gaiety of apparel, rich furniture, and an infinite variety ? What are their ports, supplied with a few junks and barks, to our navigation, our merchants fleets, our large and powerful navies ? Our city of *London* has more trade than all their mighty empire. One *English, or Dutch, or French* man of war of 80 guns, would fight with and destroy all the shipping of *China*. But the greatness of their wealth, their trade, the power of their government, and strength of their armies are surprizing to us, because, as I have said, considering them as a barbarous nation of pagans, little better than savages, we did not expect such things among them ; and this, indeed, is the advantage with which all their greatness and power is represented to us : otherwise, it is in itself nothing at all ; for, as I have said of their ships, so it may be said of their armies and troops ; all the forces of their empire, though they were to bring two millions of men into the field together,

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gether, would be able to do nothing but ruin the country, and starve themselves. If they were to besiege a strong town in *Flanders*, or to fight a disciplined army, one line of *German* cuirassiers, or of *French* cavalry, would overthrow all the horse of *China*; a million of their foot could not stand before one embattled body of our infantry, posted so as not to be surrounded, though they were not to be one to twenty in number: nay, I do not boast if I say, that 30,000 *German* or *English* foot, and 10,000 *French* horse, would fairly beat all the forces of *China*. And so of our fortified towns, and of the art of our engineers, in assaulting and defending towns; there is not a fortified town in *China* could hold out one month against the batteries and attacks of an *European* army; and at the same time, all the armies of *China* could never take such a town as *Dunkirk*, provided it was not starved; no, not in ten years siege. They have fire-arms, it is true, but they are awkward, clumsy, and uncertain in going off; they have powder, but it is of no strength; they have neither discipline in the field, exercise in their arms, skill to attack, or temper to retreat: and therefore I must confess it seemed strange to me when I came home, and heard our people say such fine things of the power, riches, glory, magnificence, and trade of the *Chinese*, because I saw and knew that they were a contemptible herd or croud of ignorant, sordid slaves, subjected to a government qualified only to rule such a people; and, in a word, for I am now launched quite beside my design, I say, in a word, were not its distance inconceivably great from *Muscovy*, and were not the *Muscovite* empire almost

almost as rude, impotent, and ill-governed a croud of slaves as they, the czar of *Muscovy* might, with much ease, drive them all out of their country, and conquer them in one campaign; and had the czar, who I since hear is a growing prince, and begins to appear formidable in the world, fallen this way, instead of attacking the warlike *Swedes*, in which attempt none of the powers of *Europe* would have envied or interrupted him; he might, by this time, have been emperor of *China*, instead of being beaten by the king of *Sweden* at *Narva*, when the latter was not one to six in number. As their strength and their grandeur, so their navigation, commerce, and husbandry, is imperfect and impotent, compared to the same things in *Europe*. Also, in their knowledge, their learning, their skill in the sciences; they have globes and spheres, and a smatch of the knowledge of the mathematics; but when you come to enquire into their knowledge, how short-sighted are the wisest of their students! They know nothing of the motion of the heavenly bodies; and so grossly, absurdly ignorant, that when the sun is eclipsed, they think it is a great dragon has assaulted and run away with it; and they fall a clattering with all the drums and kettles in the country, to fright the monster away, just as we do to hive a swarm of bees.

As this is the only excursion of this kind which I have made in all the account I have given of my travels, so I shall make no more descriptions of countries and people: it is none of my business, or any part of my design; but giving an account of my own adventures, through a life of infinite wanderings, and a long variety of changes, which, perhaps,

few have heard the like of, I shall say nothing of the mighty places, desert countries, and numerous people, I have yet to pass through, more than relates to my own story, and which my concern among them will make necessary. I was now, as near as I can compute, in the heart of *China*, about the latitude of thirty degrees north of the line, for we were returned from *Nanquin*; I had indeed a mind to see the city of *Pekin*, which I had heard so much of, and father *Simon* importuned me daily to do it: at length his time of going away being set, and the other missionary, who was to go with him, being arrived from *Macao*, it was necessary that we should resolve either to go, or not to go; so I referred him to my partner, and left it wholly to his choice; who, at length, resolved it in the affirmative; and we prepared for our journey. We set out with very good advantage, as to finding the way; for we got leave to travel in the retinue of one of their mandarins, a kind of viceroy, or principal magistrate, in the province where they reside, and who take great state upon them, travelling with great attendance, and with great homage from the people, who are sometimes greatly impoverished by them, because all the countries they pass through are obliged to furnish provisions for them, and all their attendants. That which I particularly observed, as to our travelling with his baggage, was this; that though we received sufficient provisions, both for ourselves and our horses, from the country, as belonging to the mandarin, yet we were obliged to pay for every thing we had after the market-price of the country, and the mandarin's steward, or commissary of the provisions, collected it

it duly from us ; so that our travelling in the retinue of the mandarin, though it was a very great kindness to us, was not such a mighty favour in him, but was, indeed, a great advantage to him, considering there were about thirty other people travelling in the same manner besides us, under the protection of his retinue, or, as we may call it, under his convoy. This, I say, was a great advantage to him ; for the country furnished all the provisions for nothing, and he took all our money for them.

We were five-and-twenty days travelling to *Pekin*, through a country infinitely populous, but miserably cultivated ; the husbandry, œconomy, and the way of living, all very miserable, though they boast so much of the industry of the people : I say miserable ; and so it is ; if we, who understand how to live, were to endure it, or to compare it with our own ; but not so to these poor wretches, who know no other. The pride of these people is infinitely great, and exceeded by nothing but their poverty, which adds to that which I call their misery. I must needs think the naked savages of *America* live much more happy, because, as they have nothing, so they desire nothing ; whereas these are proud and insolent, and, in the main, are mere beggars and drudges ; their ostentation is inexpressible, and is chiefly shewed in their clothes and buildings, and in the keeping multitudes of servants or slaves, and, which is to the last degree ridiculous, their contempt of all the world but themselves.

I must confess, I travelled more pleasantly afterwards, in the desarts and vast wildernesses of *Grand Tartary*, than here ; and yet the roads here are well

paved, and well kept, and very convenient for travellers : but nothing was more awkward to me, than to see such an haughty, imperious, insolent people, in the midst of the grossest simplicity and ignorance ; for all their famed ingenuity is no more. My friend, father *Simon*, and I, used to be very merry upon these occasions, to see the beggarly pride of those people : for example, coming by the house of a country gentleman, as father *Simon* called him, about ten leagues off from the city of *Nanquin*, we had, first of all, the honour to ride with the master of the house about two miles ; the state he rode in was a perfect *Don Quixotism*, being a mixture of pomp and poverty.

The habit of this greasy Don was very proper for a scaramouch, or merry-andrew ; being a dirty calico, with all the tawdry trappings of a fool's coat, such as hanging sleeves, taffety, and cuts and slashes almost on every side : it covered a rich taffety vest, as greasy as a butcher, and which testified, that his honour must needs be a most exquisite sloven.

His horse was a poor, lean, starved, hobbling creature, such as in *England* might sell for about thirty or forty shillings ; and he had two slaves followed him on foot, to drive the poor creature along : he had a whip in his hand, and he belaboured the beast as fast about the head as his slaves did about the tail ; and thus he rode by us with about ten or twelve servants ; and we were told he was going from the city to his country seat, about half a league before us. We travelled on gently, but this figure of a gentleman rode away before us ; and as we stopped at a village about an hour to refresh us, when we came by the country seat of this
great

great man, we saw him in a little place before his door, eating his repast; it was a kind of a garden, but he was easy to be seen; and we were given to understand, that the more we looked on him, the better he would be pleased.

He sat under a tree, something like the palmetto-tree, which effectually shaded him over the head, and on the south side; but under the tree also was placed a large umbrella, which made that part look well enough: he sat lolling back in a great elbow-chair, being a heavy corpulent man, and his meat being brought him by two women slaves, he had two more, whose office, I think, few gentlemen in *Europe* would accept of their service in, *viz.* one fed the 'squire with a spoon, and the other held the dish with one hand, and scraped off what he let fall upon his worship's beard and taffety vest, with the other; while the great fat brute thought it below him to employ his own hands in any of those familiar offices, which kings and monarchs would rather do than be troubled with the clumsy fingers of their servants.

I took this time to think what pain men's pride puts them to, and how troublesome a haughty temper, thus ill-managed, must be to a man of common sense; and, leaving the poor wretch to please himself with our looking at him, as if we admired his pomp, whereas we really pitied and contemned him, we pursued our journey; only father *Simon* had the curiosity to stay to inform himself what dainties the country justice had to feed on, in all his state; which he said he had the honour to taste of, and which was, I think, a dose that an *English* hound would scarce have eaten, if it had been offered him, *viz.* a mess
of

of boiled rice, with a great piece of garlick in it, and a little bag filled with green pepper, and another plant which they have there, something like our ginger, but smelling like musk, and tasting like mustard; all this was put together, and a small lump or piece of lean mutton boiled in it; and this was his worship's repast, four or five servants more attending at a distance. If he fed them meaner than he was fed himself, the spice excepted, they must fare very coarsely indeed.

As for our mandarin with whom we travelled, he was respected like a king; surrounded always with his gentlemen, and attended in all his appearances with such pomp, that I saw little of him but at a distance; but this I observed, that there was not a horse in his retinue, but that our carriers pack-horses in *England* seem to me to look much better; but they were so covered with equipage, mantles, trappings, and such like trumpery, that you cannot see whether they are fat or lean. In a word, we could scarce see any thing but their feet and their heads.

I was now light-hearted, and all my trouble and perplexity that I had given an account of being over, I had no anxious thoughts about me; which made this journey much the pleasanter to me; nor had I any ill accident attended me, only in the passing or fording a small river, my horse fell, and made me free of the country, as they call it; that is to say, threw me in; the place was not deep, but it wetted me all over: I mention it, because it spoiled my pocket-book, wherein I had set down the names of several people and places which I had occasion to remember,

member, and which not taking due care of, the leaves rotted, and the words were never after to be read, to my great loss, as to the names of some places which I touched at in this voyage.

At length we arrived at *Pekin*: I had nobody with me but the youth, whom my nephew the captain had given me to attend me as a servant, and who proved very trusty and diligent; and my partner had nobody with him but one servant, who was a kinsman. As for the *Portuguese* pilot, he being desirous to see the court, we gave him his passage, that is to say, bore his charges for his company; and to use him as an interpreter, for he understood the language of the country, and spoke good *French* and a little *English*; and, indeed, this old man was a most useful implement to us every where; for we had not been above a week at *Pekin*, when he came laughing: Ah, Seignior *Inglese*, said he, I have something to tell you, will make your heart glad. My heart glad! said I: What can that be? I don't know any thing in this country can either give me joy or grief, to any great degree. Yes, yes, said the old man, in broken *English*, make you glad, me sorrow; *sorry* he would have said. This made me more inquisitive. Why, said I, will it make you sorry? Because, said he, you have brought me here twenty-five days journey, and will leave me to go back alone; and which way shall I get to my port afterwards, without a ship, without a horse, without *pecune*? So he called money; being his broken *Latin*, of which he had abundance to make us merry with.

In short, he told us there was a great caravan of *Muscovy* and *Polish* merchants in the city, and that they
were

were preparing to set out on their journey, by land, to *Muscovy*, within four or five weeks, and he was sure we would take the opportunity to go with them, and leave him behind to go back alone. I confess I was surpris'd with this news : a secret joy spread itself over my whole soul, which I cannot describe, and never felt before, or since ; and I had no power, for a good while, to speak a word to the old man ; but at last I turned to him : How do you know this ? said I : are you sure it is true ? Yes, he said, I met this morning, in the street, an old acquaintance of mine, an *Armenian*, or one you call a *Grecian*, who is among them ; he came last from *Astracan*, and was designing to go to *Tonquin*, where I formerly knew him, but has altered his mind, and is now resolved to go back with the caravan to *Moscow*, and so down the river of *Wolga* to *Astracan*. Well, Seignior, said I, do not be uneasy about being left to go back alone ; if this be a method for my return to *England*, it shall be your fault if you go back to *Macao* at all. We then went to consult together what was to be done, and asked my partner what he thought of the pilot's news, and whether it would suit with his affairs : he told me he would do just as I would ; for he had settled all his affairs so well at *Bengal*, and left his effects in such good hands, that as we made a good voyage here, if he could vest it in *China* silks, wrought and raw, such as might be worth the carriage, he would be content to go to *England*, and then make his voyage back to *Bengal*, by the company's ships.

Having resolved upon this, we agreed, that if our *Portuguese* pilot would go with us, we would bear his charges

charges to *Moscow*, or to *England*, if he pleased ; nor, indeed, were we to be esteemed over generous in that part neither, if we had not rewarded him farther ; for the service he had done us was really worth all that, and more ; for he had not only been a pilot to us at sea, but he had been also like a broker for us on shore ; and his procuring for us the *Japan* merchant, was some hundreds of pounds in our pockets. So we consulted together about it ; and, being willing to gratify him, which was, indeed, but doing him justice, and very willing also to have him with us besides, for he was a most necessary man on all occasions, we agreed to give him a quantity of coined gold, which, as I compute it, came to about 175 pounds sterling between us, and to bear his charges, both for himself and horse, except only a horse to carry his goods.

Having settled this among ourselves, we called him to let him know what we had resolved : I told him, he had complained of our being like to let him go back alone, and I was now to tell him we were resolved he should not go back at all : that as we had resolved to go to *Europe* with the caravan, we resolved also he should go with us, and that we called him to know his mind. He shook his head, and said it was a long journey, and he had no *pecune* to carry him thither, nor to subsist himself when he came thither. We told him, we believed it was so, and therefore we had resolved to do something for him, that should let him see how sensible we were of the service he had done us ; and also how agreeable he was to us : and then I told him what we had resolved to give him here, which he might lay out as
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we would do our own ; and that as for his charges, if he would go with us, we would set him safe ashore, (life and casualties excepted) either in *Muscovy* or in *England*, which he would, at our own charge, except only the carriage of his goods.

He received the proposal like a man transported, and told us, he would go with us over the whole world ; and so, in short, we all prepared ourselves for the journey. However, as it was with us, so it was with the other merchants, they had many things to do ; and instead of being ready in five weeks, it was four months and some odd days before all things were got together.

It was the beginning of *February*, our style, when we set out from *Pekin*. My partner and the old pilot had gone express back to the port where we had first put in, to dispose of some goods which we had left there ; and I, with a *Chinese* merchant, whom I had some knowledge of at *Nanquin*, and who came to *Pekin* on his own affairs, went to *Nanquin*, where I bought ninety pieces of fine damasks, with about two hundred pieces of other very fine silks, of several sorts, some mixed with gold, and had all these brought to *Pekin* against my partner's return : besides this, we bought a very large quantity of raw silk, and some other goods ; our cargo amounting, in these goods only, to about three thousand five hundred pounds sterling, which, together with tea, and some fine calicoes, and three camel-loads of nutmegs and cloves, loaded in all eighteen camels for our share, besides those we rode upon ; which, with two or three spare horses, and two horses loaded with provisions, made
us,

us, in short, twenty-six camels and horses in our retinue.

The company was very great, and, as near as I can remember, made between three and four hundred horses and camels, and upward of an hundred and twenty men, very well armed, and provided for all events. For, as the eastern caravans are subject to be attacked by the *Arabs*, so are these by the *Tartars*; but they are not altogether so dangerous as the *Arabs*, nor so barbarous when they prevail.

The company consisted of people of several nations, such as *Muscovites* chiefly; for there were about sixty of them who were merchants or inhabitants of *Muscow*, though of them some were *Livonians*; and to our particular satisfaction, five of them were *Scots*, who appeared also to be men of great experience in business, and very good substance.

When we had travelled one day's journey, the guides, who were five in number, called all the gentlemen and merchants; that is to say, all the passengers, except the servants, to a great council, as they termed it. At this great council every one deposited a certain quantity of money to a common stock, for the necessary expence of buying forage on the way, where it was not otherwise to be had, and for satisfying the guides, getting horses, and the like. And here they constituted the journey, as they called it, *viz.* They named captains and officers to draw us all up, and give the command in case of an attack, and gave every one their turn of command. Nor was this forming us into order any more than what we found needful upon the way, as shall be observed in its place.

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The road all on this side of the country is very populous, and is full of potters and earth-makers ; that is to say, people that tempered the earth for the *China* ware ; and, as I was going along, our *Portuguese* pilot, who had always something or other to say to make us merry, came sneering to me, and told me, he would shew the greatest rarity in all the country ; and that I should have this to say of *China*, after all the ill-humoured things I had said of it, that I had seen one thing which was not to be seen in all the world beside. I was very importunate to know what it was ; at last he told me, it was a gentleman's house, built all with *China* ware. Well, said I, are not the materials of their building the product of their own country ; and so it is all *China* ware, is it not ? No, no, says he, I mean, it is a house all made of *China* ware, such as you call so in *England* ; or, as it is called in our country, porcelain. Well, said I, such a thing may be : How big is it ; Can we carry it in a box upon a camel ? If we can, we will buy it. Upon a camel ! said the old pilot, holding up both his hands, why there is a family of thirty people lives in it.

I was then curious, indeed, to see it ; and when I came to it, it was nothing but this : it was a timber house, or a house built, as we call it in *England*, with lath and plaister, but all the plaistering was really *China* ware, that is to say, it was plaistered with the earth that makes *China* ware.

The outside, which the sun shone hot upon, was glazed, and looked very well, perfectly white, and painted with blue figures, as the large *China* ware in *England* is painted, and hard, as if it had been burnt.

burnt. As to the inside, all the walls, instead of wainscot, were lined with hardened and painted tiles, like the little square tiles we call gally tiles in *England*, all made of the finest *China*, and the figures exceeding fine indeed, with extraordinary variety of colours, mixed with gold, many tiles making but one figure, but joined so artificially with mortar, being made of the same earth, that it was very hard to see where the tiles met. The floors of the rooms were of the same composition, and as hard as the earthen floors we have in use in several parts of *England*, especially *Lincolnshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Leicestershire*, &c. as hard as stone, and smooth, but not burnt and painted, except some smaller rooms, like closets, which were all, as it were, paved with the same tile; the cielings, and in a word, all the plaistering-work in the whole house, were of the same earth; and, after all, the roof was covered with tiles of the same, but of a deep shining black.

This was a *China* warehouse indeed, truly and literally to be called so; and, had I not been upon the journey, I could have staid some days to see and examine the particulars of it. They told me there were fountains and fish-ponds in the garden, all paved at the bottom and sides with the same, and fine statues set up in rows on the walks, entirely formed of the porcelain earth, and burnt whole.

As this is one of the singularities of *China*, so they may be allowed to excel in it; but I am very sure, they *excel* in their accounts of it; for they told me such incredible things of their performance in crockery-ware, for such it is, that I care not to relate, as knowing it could not be true:—One told me, in particular, of a workman that made

a ship, with all its tackle, and masts, and sails, in earthen-ware, big enough to carry fifty men. If he had told me he launched it, and made a voyage to *Japan* in it, I might have said something to it indeed; but as it was, I knew the whole story, which was, in short, asking pardon for the word, that the fellow lied; so I smiled, and said nothing to it.

This odd fight kept me two hours behind the caravan, for which the leader of it for the day fined me about the value of three shillings; and told me, if it had been three days journey without the wall, as it was three days within, he must have fined me four times as much, and made me ask pardon the next council day: so I promised to be more orderly; for, indeed, I found afterwards the orders made for keeping all together were absolutely necessary for our common safety.

In two days more we passed the great *China* wall, made for a fortification against the *Tartars*; and a very great work it is, going over hills and mountains in an endless track, where the rocks are impassable, and the precipices such as no enemy could possibly enter, or, indeed, climb up, or where, if they did, no wall could hinder them. They tell us, its length is near a thousand *English* miles, but that the country is five hundred, in a straight measured line, which the wall bounds, without measuring the windings and turnings it takes: 'tis about four fathom high, and as many thick in some places.

I stood still an hour, or thereabouts, without trespassing on our orders, for so long the caravan was in passing the gate; I say, I stood still an hour to look at it, on every side, near, and far off, I mean,

mean, what was within my view ; and the guide of our caravan, who had been extolling it for the wonder of the world, was mighty eager to hear my opinion of it. I told him it was a most excellent thing to keep off the *Tartars*, which he happened not to understand as I meant it, and so took it for a compliment: but the old pilot laughed: O Seignior *Inglese*, said he, you speak in colours. In colours! said I, what do you mean by that? Why you speak what looks white this way, and black that way; gay one way, and dull another way: you tell him it is a good wall to keep out *Tartars*; you tell me, by that, it is good for nothing but to keep out *Tartars*; or, will keep out none but *Tartars*: I understand you, Seignior *Inglese*, I understand you, said he, joking; but Seignior *Chinese* understand you his own way.

Well said I, Seignior, do you think it would stand out an army of our country people, with a good train of artillery; or our engineers, with two companies of miners? Would they not batter it down in ten days, that an army might enter in battalia, or blow it up into the air, foundation and all, that there should be no sign of it left? Ay, ay, said he, I know that. The *Chinese* wanted mightily to know what I said, and I gave him leave to tell him a few days after, for we were then almost out of their country, and he was to leave us in a little time afterwards; but when he knew what I had said, he was dumb all the rest of the way, and we heard no more of his fine story of the *Chinese* power and greatness while he staid.

After we had passed this mighty Nothing, called a wall, something like the *Picts* wall, so famous in *Northumberland*, and built by the *Romans*, we began

to find the country thinly inhabited, and the people rather confined to live in fortified towns and cities, as being subject to the inroads and depredations of the *Tartars*, who rob in great armies, and therefore are not to be resisted by the naked inhabitants of an open country.

And here I began to find the necessity of keeping together in a caravan, as we travelled; for we saw several troops of *Tartars* roving about; but when I came to see them distinctly, I wondered how that the *Chinese* empire could be conquered by such contemptible fellows; for they are a mere herd or crowd of wild fellows, keeping no order, and understanding no discipline, or manner of fight.

Their horses are poor, lean, starved creatures, taught nothing, and are fit for nothing; and this we found the first day we saw them, which was after we entered the wilder part of the country. Our leader for the day gave leave for about sixteen of us to go a hunting, as they call it; and what was this but hunting of sheep! However, it may be called hunting too; for the creatures are the wildest, and swiftest of foot, that ever I saw of their kind; only they will not run a great way, and you are sure of sport when you begin the chase; for they appear generally by thirty or forty in a flock, and, like true sheep, always keep together when they fly.

In pursuit of this odd sort of game, it was our hap to meet with about forty *Tartars*: Whether they were hunting mutton as we were, or whether they looked for another kind of prey, I know not; but as soon as they saw us, one of them blew a kind of horn very loud, but with a barbarous sound that I
had

had never heard before ; and, by the way, never care to hear again. We all supposed this was to call their friends about them ; and so it was ; for in less than half a quarter of an hour, a troop of forty or fifty more appeared at about a mile distance ; but our work was over first, as it happened.

One of the *Scots* merchants of *Moscow* happened to be amongst us ; and as soon as he heard the horn, he told us, in short, that we had nothing to do but to charge them immediately, without loss of time ; and, drawing us up in a line, he asked, If we were resolved ? We told him, We were ready to follow him : So he rode directly up to them. They stood gazing at us, like a mere crowd, drawn up in no order, nor shewing the face of any order at all ; but as soon as they saw us advance, they let fly their arrows ; which, however, missed us very happily : It seems they mistook not their aim, but their distance ; for their arrows all fell a little short of us, but with so true an aim, that had we been about twenty yards nearer, we must have had several men wounded, if not killed.

Immediately we halted ; and though it was at a great distance, we fired, and sent them leaden bullets for wooden arrows, following our shot full gallop, resolving to fall in among them sword in hand ; for so our bold *Scot* that led us, directed. He was, indeed, but a merchant, but he behaved with that vigour and bravery on this occasion, and yet with such a cool courage too, that I never saw any man in action fitter for command. As soon as we came up to them, we fired our pistols in their faces, and then drew ; but they fled in the greatest confusion imaginable ; the

only stand any of them made was on our right, where three of them stood, and, by signs, called the rest to come back to them, having a kind of scymitar in their hands, and their bows hanging at their backs. Our brave commander, without asking any body to follow him, galloped up close to them, and with his fusil knocked one of them off his horse, killed the second with his pistol, and the third ran away; and thus ended our fight; but we had this misfortune attending it, *viz.* That all our mutton that we had in chace got away. We had not a man killed or hurt; but, as for the *Tartars*, there were about five of them killed; how many were wounded, we knew not; but this we knew, that the other party was so frightened with the noise of our guns, that they fled, and never made any attempt upon us.

We were all this while in the *Chinese* dominions, and therefore the *Tartars* were not so bold as afterwards; but in about five days we entered a vast great wild desert, which held us three days and nights march; and we were obliged to carry our water with us in great leather bottles, and to encamp all night, just as I have heard they do in the deserts of *Arabia*.

I asked our guides, whose dominion this was in? and they told me this was a kind of border that might be called *No Man's Land*; being part of the *Great Karakathy*, or *Grand Tartary*; but that, however, it was reckoned to *China*; that there was no care taken here to preserve it from the inroads of thieves; and therefore it was reckoned the worst desert in the whole march, though we were to go over some much larger.

In passing this wilderness, which, I confess, was at the first view very frightful to me, we saw two or three times little parties of the *Tartars*, but they seemed to be upon their own affairs, and to have no design upon us; and so, like the man who met the devil, if they had nothing to say to us, we had nothing to say to them; we let them go.

Once, however, a party of them came so near as to stand and gaze at us; whether it was to consider what they should do, *viz.* to attack us, or not attack us, we knew not; but when we were passed at some distance by them, we made a rear guard of forty men, and stood ready for them, letting the caravan pass half a mile, or thereabouts, before us: After a while they marched off, only we found they assaulted us with five arrows at their parting; one of which wounded a horse, so that it disabled him; and we left him the next day, poor creature, in great need of a good farrier. We suppose they might shoot more arrows, which might fall short of us; but we saw no more arrows, or *Tartars*, at that time.

We travelled near a month after this, the ways being not so good as at first, though still in the dominions of the Emperor of *China*; but lay, for the most part, in villages, some of which were fortified, because of the incursions of the *Tartars*. When we came to one of these towns (it was about two days and a half's journey before we were to come to the city of *Naum*,) I wanted to buy a camel, of which there are plenty to be sold all the way upon that road, and of horses also, such as they are, because so many caravans coming that way, they are

very often wanted. The person that I spoke to to get me a camel, would have gone and fetched it for me ; but I, like a fool, must be officious, and go myself along with him. The place was about two miles out of the village, where, it seems, they kept the camels and horses feeding under a guard.

I walked it on foot, with my old pilot in company, and a *Chinese*, being desirous, forsooth, of a little variety. When we came to this place, it was a low marshy ground, walled round with a stone wall, piled up dry, without mortar or earth among it, like a park, with a little guard of *Chinese* foldiers at the doors : Having bought a camel, and agreed for the price, I came away ; and the *Chinese* man, that went with me, led the camel, when on a sudden came up five *Tartars* on horseback ; two of them seized the fellow, and took the camel from him, while the other three stepped up to me and my old pilot ; seeing us, as it were, unarmed, for I had no weapon about me but my sword, which could but ill defend me against three horsemen. The first that came up stopped short upon my drawing my sword (for they are arrant cowards ;) but a second coming upon my left, gave me a blow on the head, which I never felt till afterwards, and wondered, when I came to myself, what was the matter with me, and where I was, for he laid me flat on the ground ; but my never-failing old pilot, the *Portuguese* (so providence, unlooked for, directs deliverances from dangers, which to us are unforeseen,) had a pistol in his pocket, which I knew nothing of, nor the *Tartars* neither ; if they had, I suppose they would not have attacked
us ;

us ; but cowards are always boldest when there is no danger.

The old man, seeing me down, with a bold heart stepped up to the fellow that had struck me, and laying hold of his arm with one hand, and pulling him down by main force a little towards him with the other, he shot him into the head, and laid him dead on the spot ; he then immediately stepped up to him who had stopped us, as I said, and before he could come forward again (for it was all done as it were in a moment) made a blow at him with a scymitar, which he always wore, but, missing the man, cut his horse into the side of his head, cut one of his ears off by the root, and a great slice down the side of his face. The poor beast, enraged with the wounds, was no more to be governed by his rider, though the fellow sat well enough too ; but away he flew, and carried him quite out of the pilot's reach ; and, at some distance, rising upon his hind legs, threw down the *Tartar*, and fell upon him.

In this interval the poor *Chinese* came in, who had lost the camel, but he had no weapon ; however, seeing the *Tartar* down, and his horse fallen upon him, he runs to him, and seizing upon an ugly ill-favoured weapon he had by his side, something like a pole-axe, but not a pole-axe either, he wrenched it from him, and made shift to knock his *Tartarian* brains out with it. But my old man had the third *Tartar* to deal with still ; and, seeing he did not fly as he expected, nor come on to fight him, as he apprehended, but stood stock still, the old man stood still too, and falls to work with his tackle to charge his pistol again : but as soon as the *Tartar* saw the
4 pistol,

pistol, whether he supposed it to be the same or another, I know not; but away he scoured, and left my pilot, my champion I called him afterwards, a complete victory.

By this time I was a little awake; for I thought, when I first began to awake, that I had been in a sweet sleep; but, as I said above, I wondered where I was, how I came upon the ground, and what was the matter: in a word, a few minutes after, as sense returned, I felt pain, though I did not know where; I clapped my hand to my head, and took it away bloody; then I felt my head ache; and then, in another moment, memory returned, and every thing was present to me again.

I jumped up upon my feet instantly, and got hold of my sword, but no enemies in view. I found a *Tartar* lie dead, and his horse standing very quietly by him; and looking farther, I saw my champion and deliverer, who had been to see what the *Chinese* had done, coming back with his hanger in his hand. The old man, seeing me on my feet, came running to me, and embraced me with a great deal of joy, being afraid before that I had been killed; and seeing me bloody, would see how I was hurt; but it was not much, only what we call a broken head; neither did I afterwards find any great inconvenience from the blow, other than the place which was hurt, and which was well again in two or three days.

We made no great gain, however, by this victory; for we lost a camel, and gained a horse: but that which was remarkable, when we came back to the village, the man demanded to be paid for the camel;

mel; I disputed it, and it was brought to a hearing before the *Chinese* judge of the place; that is to say, in *English*, we went before a justice of the peace. Give him his due, he acted with a great deal of prudence and impartiality; and having heard both sides, he gravely asked the *Chinese* man that went with me to buy the camel, whose servant he was? I am no servant said he, but went with the stranger. At whose request? said the justice. At the stranger's request, said he. Why then, said the justice, you were the stranger's servant for the time; and the camel being delivered to his servant, it was delivered to him, and he must pay for it.

I confess the thing was so clear, that I had not a word to say; but admiring to see such just reasoning upon the consequence, and so accurate stating the case, I paid willingly for the camel, and sent for another; but you may observe, *I sent* for it; I did not go to fetch it myself any more; I had enough of that.

The city of *Naum* is a frontier of the *Chinese* empire: they call it fortified, and so it is, as fortifications go there; for this I will venture to affirm, that all the *Tartars* in *Karakathay*, which, I believe, are some millions, could not batter down the walls with their bows and arrows; but to call it strong, if it were attacked with cannon, would be to make those who understand it laugh at you.

We wanted, as I have said, above two days journey of this city, when messengers were sent express to every part of the road, to tell all travellers and caravans to halt, till they had a guard sent to them; for

for that an unusual body of *Tartars*, making ten thousand in all, had appeared in the way, about thirty miles beyond the city.

This was very bad news to travellers ; however, it was carefully done of the governor, and we were very glad to hear we should have a guard. Accordingly, two days after, we had 200 soldiers sent us from a garrison of the *Chinese* on our left, and three hundred more from the city of *Naum*, and with those we advanced boldly : the three hundred soldiers from *Naum* marched in our front, the two hundred in our rear, and our men on each side of our camels with our baggage, and the whole caravan in the centre : in this order, and well prepared for battle, we thought ourselves a match for the whole ten thousand *Mogul Tartars*, if they had appeared ; but the next day, when they did appear, it was quite another thing.

It was early in the morning, when marching from a little well-situated town, called *Changu*, we had a river to pass, where we were obliged to ferry ; and had the *Tartars* had any intelligence, then had been the time to have attacked us, when, the caravan being over, the rear guard was behind : but they did not appear there.

About three hours after, when we were entered upon a desert of about fifteen or sixteen miles over, behold, by a cloud of dust they raised, we saw an enemy was at hand ; and they were at hand indeed, for they came on upon the spur.

The *Chinese*, our guard on the front, who had talked so big the day before, began to stagger, and the soldiers frequently looked behind them ; which is a certain sign in a soldier, that he is just ready to run away.

away. My old pilot was of my mind ; and being near me, he called out : Seignior *Inglese*, said he, those fellows must be encouraged, or they will ruin us all ; for if the *Tartars* come on, they will never stand it. I am of your mind, said I : But what course must be done ? Done, said he ; let fifty of our men advance, and flank them on each wing, and encourage them, and they will fight like brave fellows in brave company ; but without it, they will every man turn his back. Immediately I rode up to our leader, and told him, who was exactly of our mind ; and accordingly fifty of us marched to the right wing, and fifty to the left, and the rest made a line of reserve ; for so we marched, leaving the last two hundred men to make another body to themselves, and to guard the camels ; only that, if need were, they should send an hundred men to assist the last fifty.

In a word, the *Tartars* came on, and an innumerable company they were ; how many, we could not tell, but ten thousand we thought was the least. A party of them came on first, and viewed our posture, traversing the ground in the front of our line ; and as we found them within gun-shot, our leader ordered the two wings to advance swiftly, and give them a *salvo* on each wing with their shot, which was done ; but they went off, and I suppose went back to give an account of the reception they were like to meet with ; and, indeed, that salute clogged their stomachs ; for they immediately halted, stood awhile to consider of it, and, wheeling off to the left, they gave over the design, and said no more to us for that time ; which was very agreeable to our circumstances,

stances, which were but very indifferent for a battle with such a number.

Two days after this we came to the city of *Naum*, or *Naunm*: We thanked the governor for his care for us, and collected to the value of 100 crowns, or thereabouts, which we gave to the soldiers sent to guard us; and here we rested one day. This is a garrison indeed, and there were nine hundred soldiers kept here; but the reason of it was, that formerly the *Muscovite* frontiers lay nearer to them than they do now, the *Muscovites* having abandoned that part of the country (which lies from the city west, for about two hundred miles) as desolate and unfit for use; and more especially, being so very remote, and so difficult to send troops hither for its defence; for we had yet above two thousand miles to *Muscovy*, properly so called.

After this we passed several great rivers, and two dreadful desarts, one of which we were sixteen days passing over, and which, as I said, was to be called *No Man's Land*; and on the 13th of *April*, we came to the frontiers of the *Muscovite* dominions. I think the first city, or town, or fortress, whatever it might be called, that belonged to the *Czar* of *Muscovy*, was called *Argun*, being on the west side of the river *Argun*.

I could not but discover an infinite satisfaction, that I was now arrived in, as I called it, a Christian country; or, at least, in a country governed by Christians: for though the *Muscovites* do, in my opinion, but just deserve the name of Christians; (yet such they pretend to be, and are very devout in their way);

way); it would certainly occur to any man who travels the world as I have done, and who had any power of reflection; I say, it would occur to him, to reflect, what a blessing it is to be brought into the world where the name of God, and of a Redeemer, is known, worshipped, and adored—and not where the people, given up by Heaven to strong delusions, worship the devil, and prostrate themselves to stocks and stones; worship monsters, elements, horrible shaped animals, and statues, or images of monsters. Not a town or city we passed through but had their pagods, their idols, and their temples; and ignorant people worshipping even the works of their own hands!

Now we came where, at least, a face of the Christian worship appeared, where the knee was bowed to JESUS; and whether ignorantly or not, yet the Christian religion was owned, and the name of the true God was called upon and adored; and it made the very recesses of my soul rejoice to see it. I saluted the brave *Scotch* merchant I mentioned above, with my first acknowledgment of this; and, taking him by the hand, I said to him, Blessed be God, we are once again come among Christians! He smiled, and answered, Do not rejoice too soon, countryman; these *Muscovites* are but an odd sort of Christians; and but for the name of it, you may see very little of the substance for some months farther of our journey.

Well, said I, but still it is better than paganism, and worshipping of devils. Why, I'll tell you, said he; Except the *Russian* soldiers in garrisons, and a few of the inhabitants of the cities upon the road,
all

all the rest of this country, for above a thousand miles farther, is inhabited by the worst and most ignorant of pagans : and so indeed we found it.

We were now launched into the greatest piece of solid earth, if I understand any thing of the surface of the globe, that is to be found in any part of the world : we had at least twelve hundred miles to the sea, eastward ; we had at least two thousand to the bottom of the *Balic* sea, westward ; and almost three thousand miles, if we left that sea, and went on west to the *British* and *French* channels ; we had full five thousand miles to the *Indian* or *Persian* sea, south ; and about eight hundred miles to the frozen sea, north : nay, if some people may be believed, there might be no sea north-east till we came round the pole, and consequently into the north-west, and so had a continent of land into *America*, no mortal knows where ; though I could give some reasons why I believe that to be a mistake too.

As we entered into the *Muscovite* dominions, a good while before we came to any considerable town, we had nothing to observe there but this : first, that all the rivers run to the east. As I understood by the charts which some of our caravans had with them, it was plain that all those rivers ran into the great river *Yamour*, or *Gammour*. This river, by the natural course of it, must run into the east sea, or *Chinese* ocean. The story they tell us, that the mouth of this river is choaked up with bulrushes of a monstrous growth, viz. three feet about, and twenty or thirty feet high, I must be allowed to say, I believe nothing of ; but as its navigation is of no use, because

because there is no trade that way, the *Tartars*, to whom alone it belongs, dealing in nothing but cattle; so nobody that ever I heard of, has been curious enough either to go down to the mouth of it in boats, or to come up from the mouth of it in ships; but this is certain, that this river running due east, in the latitude of 60 degrees, carries a vast concourse of rivers along with it, and finds an ocean to empty itself in that latitude; so we are sure of sea there.

Some leagues to the north of this river there are several considerable rivers, whose streams run as due north as the *Yamour* runs east; and these are all found to join their waters with the great river *Tartarus*, named so from the northermost nations of the *Mogul Tartars*, who, the *Chinese* say, were the first *Tartars* in the world; and who, as our geographers alledge, are the *Gog* and *Magog* mentioned in sacred story.

These rivers running all northward, as well as all the other rivers I am yet to speak of, made it evident that the northern ocean bounds the land also on that side; so that it does not seem rational in the least to think that the land can extend itself to join with *America* on that side, or that there is not a communication between the northern and the eastern ocean; but of this I shall say no more; it was my observation at that time, and therefore I take notice of it in this place. We now advanced from the river *Arguna* by easy and moderate journeys, and were very visibly obliged to the care the czar of *Muscovy* has taken to have cities and towns built in as many places as are possible to place them, where his soldiers keep garrison, something like the stationary soldiers placed

by the *Romans* in the remotest countries of their empire, some of which I had read were particularly placed in *Britain* for the security of commerce, and for the lodging of travellers; and thus it was here; for wherever we came, though at these towns and stations, the garrisons and governor were *Russians* and professed mere pagans, sacrificing to idols, and worshipping the sun, moon, and stars, or all the host of heaven; and not only so, but were, of all the heathens and pagans that ever I met with, the most barbarous, except only that they did not eat man's flesh, as our savages of *America* did.

Some instances of this we met with in the country between *Arguna*, where we enter the *Muscovite* dominions, and a city of *Tartars* and *Russians* together, called *Nertzinskay*; in which space is a continued desert or forest, which cost us twenty days to travel over it. In a village, near the last of those places, I had the curiosity to go and see their way of living; which is most brutish and unsufferable: they had, I suppose, a great sacrifice that day; for there stood out upon an old stump of a tree, an idol made of wood, frightful as the devil; at least as any thing we can think of to represent the devil that can be made: It had an head certainly not so much as resembling any creature that the world ever saw; ears as big as goats horns, and as high; eyes as big as a crown piece; and a nose like a crooked ram's horn, and a mouth extended four-cornered, like that of a lion, with horrible teeth, hooked like a parrot's under bill. It was dressed up in the filthiest manner that you can suppose; its up-

per garment was of sheep-skins, with the wool outward ; a great *Tartar* bonnet on the head, with two horns growing through it : it was about eight feet high, yet had no feet or legs, or any other proportion of parts.

This scarecrow was set up at the outside of the village ; and when I came near to it, there were sixteen or seventeen creatures, whether men or women I could not tell, for they make no distinction by their habits, either of body or head ; these lay all flat on the ground, round this formidable block of shapeless wood. I saw no motion among them any more than if they had been logs of woods like their idol ; at first I really thought they had been so ; but when I came a little nearer, they started up upon their feet ; and raised an howling cry, as if it had been so many deep-mouthed hounds, and walked away as if they were displeased at our disturbing them. A little way off from this monster, and at the door of a tent or hut, made all of sheep-skins and cow-skins, dried, stood three butchers : I thought they were such ; for when I came nearer to them, I found they had long knives in their hands, and in the middle of the tent appeared three sheep killed, and one young bullock, or steer. These, it seems, were sacrifices to that senseless log of an idol ; and these three men priests belonging to it ; and the seventeen prostrated wretches were the people who brought the offering, and were making their prayers to that stock.

I confess I was more moved at their stupidity, and this brutish worship of an hobgoblin, than ever I

was at any thing in my life : to see God's most glorious and best creature, to whom he had granted so many advantages, even by creation, above the rest of the works of his hands, vested with a reasonable soul, and that soul adorned with faculties and capacities adapted both to honour his Maker and be honoured by him ; I say, to see it sunk and degenerated to a degree so more than stupid, as to prostrate itself to a frightful nothing, a mere imaginary object dressed up by themselves, and made terrible to themselves by their own contrivance, adorned only with clouts and rags ; and that this should be the effect of mere ignorance, wrought up into hellish devotion by the devil himself ; who, envying his Maker the homage and adoration of his creatures, had deluded them into such gross, surfeiting, sordid, and brutish things, as one would think should shock nature itself.

But what signified all the astonishment and reflection of thoughts ? Thus it was, and I saw it before my eyes ; and there was no room to wonder at it, or think it impossible. All my admiration turned to rage ; and I rode up to the image or monster, call it what you will, and with my sword cut the bonnet that was on its head in two in the middle, so that it hung down by one of the horns ; and one of our men that was with me, took hold of the sheep-skin that covered it, and pulled at it, when, behold, a most hideous outcry and howling ran through the village, and two or three hundred people came about my ears, so that I was glad to scour for it ; for we saw some had bows and arrows ; but I resolved from that moment to visit them again.

Our

Our caravan rested three nights at the town, which was about four miles off, in order to provide some horses, which they wanted, several of the horses having been lamed and jaded with the badness of the way, and our long march over the last desert; so we had some leisure here to put my design in execution. I communicated my project to the Scots merchant, of *Moscow*, of whose courage I had a sufficient testimony, as above. I told him what I had seen, and with what indignation I had since thought, that human nature could be so degenerate. I told him, I was resolved, if I could get but four or five men well armed to go with me, to go and destroy that vile, abominable idol; to let them see, that it had no power to help itself, and consequently could not be an object of worship, or to be prayed to, much less help them that offered sacrifices to it.

He laughed at me: said he, Your zeal may be good; but what do you propose to yourself by it? Propose! said I; to vindicate the honour of God, which is insulted by this devil-worship. But how will it vindicate the honour of God? said he, while the people will not be able to know what you mean by it, unless you could speak to them too, and tell them so; and then they will fight you too, I will assure you; for they are desperate fellows, and that especially in defence of their idolatry. Can we not, said I, do it in the night, and then leave them the reasons in writing, in their own language? Writing! said he, why there is not in five nations of them, one man that knows any thing of a letter, or how to read a word in any language, or in their own.

Wretched ignorance! said I to him; however, I have a great mind to do it; perhaps nature may draw inferences from it to them, to let them see how brutish they are to worship such horrid things. Look you, Sir, said he, if your zeal prompts you to it so warmly, you must do it; but, in the next place, I would have you consider these wild nations of people are subjected by force to the czar of *Muscovy's* dominions; and if you do this, it is ten to one but they will come by thousands to the governor of *Nertzinskay*, and complain, and demand satisfaction; and if he cannot give them satisfaction, it is ten to one but they revolt; and it will occasion a new war with all the *Tartars* in the country.

This, I confess, put new thoughts into my head for a while; but I harped upon the same string still; and all that day I was uneasy to put my project in execution. Towards the evening, the *Scots* merchant met me by accident in our walk about the town, and desired to speak with me: I believe, said he, I have put you off your good design; I have been a little concerned about it since; for I abhor the idol and idolatry as much as you can do. Truly, said I, you have put it off a little as to the execution of it, but you have not put it all out of my thoughts; and, I believe, I shall do it still before I quit this place, though I were to be delivered up to them for satisfaction. No, no, said he; God forbid they should deliver you up to such a crew of monsters! they shall not do that neither; that would be murdering you indeed. Why, said I, how would they use me? Use you! said he; I'll tell you how they served a poor *Russian*, who affronted them in their worship

worship just as you did, and whom they took prisoner, after they had lamed him with an arrow, that he could not run away; they took him and stripped him stark naked, and set him upon the top of the idol monster, and stood all round him, and shot as many arrows into him as would stick over his whole body; and then they burnt him and all the arrows sticking in him, as a sacrifice to the idol. And was this the same idol? said I. Yes, said he, the very same. Well, said I, I will tell you a story: So I related the story of our men at *Madagascar*, and how they burnt and sacked the village there, and killed man, woman, and child, for their murdering one of our men, just as it is related before; and when I had done, I added, that I thought we ought to do so to this village.

He listened very attentively to the story; but when I talked of doing so to that village, said he, you mistake very much; it was not this village, it was almost an hundred miles from this place; but it was the same idol, for they carry him about in procession all over the country. Well, said I, then that idol ought to be punished for it; and it shall, said I, if I live this night out.

In a word, finding me resolute, he liked the design, and told me, I should not go alone, but he would go with me; but he would go first, and bring a stout fellow, one of his countrymen, to go also with us; and one, said he, as famous for his zeal as you can desire any one to be against such devilish things as these. In a word, he brought me his comrade, a *Scotsman*, whom he called Captain *Richardson*; and I gave him a full account of what I had

seen, and also of what I intended ; and he told me readily, he would go with me, if it cost him his life. So we agreed to go, only we three. I had, indeed, proposed it to my partner ; but he declined it. He said, he was ready to assist me to the utmost, and upon all occasions, for my defence ; but that this was an adventure quite out of his way : so, I say, we resolved upon our work, only we three, and my man-servant, and to put it in execution that night about midnight, with all the secrecy imaginable.

However, upon second thoughts, we were willing to delay it till the next night, because the caravan being to set forward in the morning, we supposed the governor could not pretend to give them any satisfaction upon us when we were out of his power.—The *Scots* merchant, as steady in his resolution to enterprize it as bold in executing, brought me a *Tartar's* robe or gown of sheep-skins, and a bonnet, with a bow and arrows, and had provided the same for himself and his countryman, that the people, if they saw us, should not be able to determine who we were.

All the first night we spent in mixing up some combustible matter with aqua-vitæ, gunpowder, and such other materials as we could get ; and, having a good quantity of tar in a little pot, about an hour after night we set out upon our expedition.

We came to the place about eleven o'clock at night, and found that the people had not the least jealousy of danger attending their idol ; the night was cloudy ; yet the moon gave us light enough to see that the idol stood just in the same posture and place that it did before. The people seemed to be

all at their rest ; only, that in the great hut, or tent as we called it, where we saw the three priests, whom we mistook for butchers, we saw a light, and, going up close to the door, we heard people talking, as if there were five or six of them ; we concluded therefore, that if we set wild-fire to the idol, these men would come out immediately, and run up to the place to rescue it from the destruction that we intended for it ; and what to do with them we knew not. Once we thought of carrying it away, and setting fire to it at a distance ; but when we came to handle it, we found it too bulky for our carriage ; so we were at a loss again. The second *Scotsman* was for setting fire to the tent or hut, and knocking the creatures that were there on the head, when they came out ; but I could not join with that ; I was against killing them, if it was possible to be avoided. Well then, said the *Scots* merchant, I will tell you what we will do ; we will try to make them prisoners, tie their hands, and make them stand and see their idol destroyed.

As it happened, we had twine or packthread enough about us, which we used to tie our fireworks together with ; so we resolved to attack these people first, and with as little noise as we could. The first thing we did, we knocked at the door, when one of the priests coming to it, we immediately seized upon him, stopped his mouth, and tied his hands behind him and led him to the idol, where we gagged him that he might not make a noise ; tied his feet also together, and left him on the ground.

Two of us then waited at the door, expecting that another would come out to see what the matter was ;

was; but we waited so long till the third man came back to us; and then, nobody coming out, we knocked again gently, and immediately out came two more, and we served them just in the same manner, but were obliged to go all with them, and lay them down by the idol some distance from one another; when, going back, we found two more were come out to the door, and a third stood behind them within the door. We seized the two, and immediately tied them: when the third stepping back, and crying out, my *Scots* merchant went in after him, and taking out a composition we had made, that would only smoke and stink, he set fire to it, and threw it in among them: by that time the other *Scotsman* and my man taking charge of the two men already bound, and tied together also by the arm, led them away to the idol, and left them there, to see if their idol would relieve them, making haste back to us.

When the furze we had thrown in had filled the hut with so much smoke that they were almost suffocated, we then threw in a small leather bag of another kind, which flamed like a candle, and, following it in, we found there were but four people left, who, it seems, were two men and two women, and, as we supposed, had been about some of their diabolic sacrifices. They appeared, in short, frightened to death, at least so as to sit trembling and stupid, and not able to speak neither, for the smoke.

In a word, we took them, bound them as we had the other, and all without any noise. I should have said, we brought them out of the house, or hut, first; for, indeed, we were not able to bear the smoke any
more

more than they were. When we had done this, we carried them altogether to the idol: when we came there we fell to work with him; and first we daubed him all over, and his robes also, with tar, and such other stuff as we had, which was tallow mixed with brimstone; then we stopped his eyes, and ears, and mouth full of gunpowder; then we wrapped up a great piece of wildfire in his bonnet; and then sticking all the combustibles we had brought with us upon him, we looked about to see if we could find any thing else to help to burn him; when my *Scotsman* remembered, that by the tent, or hut, where the men were, there lay a heap of dry forage, whether straw or rushes I do not remember: away he and the other *Scotsman* ran, and fetched their arms full of that. When we had done this, we took all our prisoners, and brought them, having untied their feet, and ungagged their mouths, and made them stand up, and set them just before their monstrous idol, and then set fire to the whole.

We stayed by it a quarter of an hour, or thereabouts, till the powder in the eyes, and mouth, and ears of the idol blew up, and, as we could perceive, had split and deformed the shape of it; and, in a word, till we saw it burnt into a mere block or log of wood; and then setting the dry forage to it, we found it would be soon quite consumed; so we began to think of going away; but the *Scotsman* said: No, we must not go; for these poor deluded wretches will all throw themselves into the fire, and burn themselves with the idol; so we resolved to stay till the forage was burnt down too, and then we came away and left them.

In

In the morning we appeared among our fellow travellers, exceeding busy in getting ready for our journey; nor could any man suggest that we had been anywhere but in our beds, as travellers might be supposed to be, to fit themselves for the fatigues of that day's journey.

But it did not end so; for the next day came a great multitude of the country people, not only of this village, but of an hundred more, for aught I know, to the town gates; and, in a most outrageous manner, demanded satisfaction of the *Russian* governor, for the insulting their priests, and burning their great *Cham-Chi-Thaungu*; such an hard name they gave the monstrous creature they worshipped: the people of *Nertzinskay* were at first in a great consternation; for, they said, the *Tartars* were no less than thirty thousand, and that in a few days more, they would be one hundred thousand stronger.

The *Russian* governor sent out messengers to appease them, and gave them all the good words imaginable. He assured them he knew nothing of it, and that there had not a soul of his garrison been abroad; that it could not be from any body there; and if they would let him know who it was, they should be exemplarily punished. They returned haughtily, That all the country revered the great *Cham-Chi-Thaungu*, who dwelt in the sun, and no mortal would have dared to offer violence to his image, but some *Christian* miscreant; so they called them, it seems, and they therefore denounced war against him, and all the *Russians*, who, they said, were miscreants and *Christians*.

The

The governor, still patient, and unwilling to make a breach, or to have any cause of war alledged to be given by him, the czar having straightly charged him to treat the conquered country with gentleness and civility, gave them still all the good words he could; at last he told them, there was a caravan gone towards *Russia* that morning, and perhaps it was some of them who had done them this injury; and that, if they would be satisfied with that, he would send after them, to enquire into it. This seemed to appease them a little; and accordingly the governor sent after us, and gave us a particular account how the thing was; intimating, withal, that if any in our caravan had done it, they should make their escape; but that, whether they had done it or no, we should make all the haste forward that was possible; and that in the mean time, he would keep them in play as long as he could.

This was very friendly in the governor. However, when it came to the caravan, there was nobody knew any thing of the matter; and, as for us that were guilty, we were the least of all suspected; none so much as asked us the question; however, the captain of the caravan, for the time, took the hint that the governor gave us, and we marched or travelled two days and two nights without any considerable stop, and then we lay at a village called *Plotbus*; nor did we make any long stop here, but hastened on towards *Jarawena*, another of the czar of *Muscovy*'s colonies, and where we expected we should be safe; but it is to be observed, that here we began, for two or three days march, to enter upon a vast nameless desert, of which I shall say more
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in its place ; and which if we had now been upon it, is more than probable, we had been all destroyed. It was the second day's march from *Plotbus*, that by the clouds of dust behind us at a great distance, some of our people began to be sensible we were pursued ; we had entered the desert, and had passed by a great lake, called *Schanks Ofier*, when we perceived a very great body of horse appear on the other side of the lake to the north, we travelling west. We observed they went away west, as we did ; but had supposed we should have taken that side of the lake, whereas we very happily took the south side ; and in two days more we saw them not, for they, believing we were still before them, pushed on, till they came to the river *Udda* : This is a very great river when it passes farther north ; but when we came to it, we found it narrow and fordable.

The third day they either found their mistake, or had intelligence of us, and came pouring in upon us, towards the dusk of the evening. We had, to our great satisfaction, just pitched upon a place for our camp, which was very convenient for the night ; for as we were upon a desert, though but at the beginning of it, that was above five hundred miles over, we had no towns to lodge at, and, indeed, expected none but the city *Jarawena*, which we had yet two days march to ; the desert, however, had some few woods in it on this side, and little rivers, which ran all into the great river *Udda*. It was in a narrow strait between two small, but very thick woods, that we pitched our little camp for that night, expecting to be attacked in the night.

Nobody

Nobody knew but ourselves what we were pursued for; but as it was usual for the *Mogul Tartars* to go about in troops in that desert, so the caravans always fortify themselves every night against them, as against armies of robbers; and it was therefore no new thing to be pursued.

But we had this night, of all the nights of our travels, a most advantageous camp; for we lay between two woods, with a little rivulet running just before our front; so that we could not be surrounded or attacked any way, but in our front or rear: we took care also to make our front as strong as we could, by placing our packs, with our camels and horses, all in a line on the side of the river, and we felled some trees in our rear.

In this posture we encamped for the night; but the enemy was upon us before we had finished our situation: they did not come on us like thieves, as we expected, but sent three messengers to us, to demand the men to be delivered to them, that had abused their priests, and burnt their god *Cham-Chi-Thaungu*, that they might burn them with fire; and, upon this, they said, they would go away, and do us no farther harm, otherwise they would burn us all with fire. Our men looked very blank at this message, and began to stare at one another, to see who looked with most guilt in their faces, but, *nobody* was the word, nobody did it. The leader of the caravan sent word, he was well assured it was not done by any of our camp; that we were peaceable merchants, travelling on our business; that we had done no harm to them, or to any one else; and therefore they must look farther for their enemies, who

who had injured them, for we were not the people ; so desired them not to disturb us ; for if they did, we should defend ourselves.

They were far from being satisfied with this for an answer, and a great crowd of them came down in the morning, by break of day, to our camp ; but, seeing us in such an advantageous situation, they durst come no farther than the brook in our front, where they stood, and shewed us such a number, as, indeed, terrified us very much ; for those that spoke least of them, spoke of ten thousand. Here they stood, and looked at us a while, and then setting up a great howl, they let fly a cloud of arrows among us ; but we were well enough fortified for that, for we were sheltered under our baggage ; and I do not remember that one man of us was hurt.

Some time after this, we saw them move a little to our right, and expected them on the rear, when a cunning fellow, a *Cossack*, as they call them, of *Jarawena*, in the pay of the *Muscovites*, calling to the leader of the caravan, said to him, I will send all these people away to *Sibeilka* : This was a city four or five days journey, at least to the south, and rather behind us. So he takes his bow and arrows, and, getting on horseback, he rides away from our rear directly, as it were, back to *Nertzinskay* ; after this, he takes a great circuit about, and comes to the army of the *Tartars*, as if he had been sent express to tell them a long story, that the people who had burnt their *Cham-Chi-Thaungu* were gone to *Sibeilka*, with a caravan of miscreants, as he called them ; that is to say, Christians ; and that they were resolved

solved to burn the god *Scal Ifarg*, belonging to the *Tonguses*.

As this fellow was a mere *Tartar*, and perfectly spoke their language, he counterfeited so well, that they all took it from him, and away they drove, in a most violent hurry, to *Sibeilka*, which, it seems, was five days journey to the south; and in less than three hours they were entirely out of our sight, and we never heard any more of them, nor ever knew whether they went to that other place called *Sibeilka*, or no.

So we passed safely on to the city of *Jarawena*, where there was a garrison of *Muscovites*; and there we rested five days, the caravan being exceedingly fatigued with the last day's march, and with want of rest in the night.

From this city we had a frightful desert, which held us three-and-twenty days march. We furnished ourselves with some tents here, for the better accommodating ourselves in the night; and the leader of the caravan procured sixteen carriages, or wag-gons, of the country, for carrying our water and provisions; and these carriages were our defence every night round our little camp; so that had the *Tartars* appeared, unless they had been very numerous indeed, they would not have been able to hurt us.

We may well be supposed to want rest again after this long journey; for in this desert we saw neither house or tree, or scarce a bush; we saw, indeed, abundance of the fable-hunters, as they called them: These are all *Tartars* of the *Mogul Tartary*, of which this country is a part; and they frequently attack

small caravans ; but we saw no numbers of them together. I was curious to see the sable-skins they caught ; but I could never speak with any of them ; for they durst not come near us ; neither durst we straggle from our company to go near them.

After we had passed this desert, we came into a country pretty well inhabited ; that is to say, we found towns and castles settled by the czar of *Muscovy*, with garrisons of stationary soldiers to protect the caravans, and defend the country against the *Tartars*, who would otherwise make it very dangerous travelling ; and his czarish majesty has given such strict orders for the well guarding the caravans and merchants, that if there are any *Tartars* heard of in the country, detachments of the garrison are always sent to see travellers safe from station to station.

And thus the governor of *Adinskoy*, whom I had an opportunity to make a visit to, by means of the *Scots* merchant, who was acquainted with him, offered us a guard of fifty men, if we thought there was any danger, to the next station.

I thought long before this, that as we came nearer to *Europe*, we should find the country better peopled, and the people more civilized ; but I found myself mistaken in both, for we had yet the nation of the *Tongueses* to pass through ; where we saw the same tokens of paganism and barbarity, or worse, than before ; only as they were conquered by the *Muscovites*, and entirely reduced, they were not so dangerous ; but for the rudeness of manners, idolatry, and polytheism, no people in the world ever went beyond them. They are clothed all in skins of
beasts,

beasts, and their houses are built of the same. You know not a man from a woman, neither by the ruggedness of their countenances, or their clothes; and in the winter, when the ground is covered with snow, they live under ground, in houses like vaults, which have cavities or caves going from one to another.

If the *Tartars* had their *Cham-Chi-Thaungu* for a whole village, or country, these had idols in every hut, and every cave; besides, they worship the stars, the sun, the water, the snow; and, in a word, every thing that they do not understand, and they understand but very little; so that almost every element, every uncommon thing, sets them a sacrificing.

But I am no more to describe people than countries, any farther than my own story comes to be concerned in them. I met with nothing peculiar to myself in all this country, which, I reckon was, from the desert which I spoke of last, at least four hundred miles, half of it being another desert, which took us up twelve days severe travelling, without house, tree or bush; but were obliged again to carry our own provisions, as well water as bread. After we were out of this desert, and had travelled two days, we came to *Janezay*, a *Muscovite* city or station, on the great river *Janezay*. This river, they told us, parted *Europe* from *Asia*, though our map-makers, as I am told, do not agree to it; however, it is certainly the eastern boundary of the antient *Siberia*, which now makes a province only of the vast *Muscovite* empire, but is itself equal in bigness to the whole empire of *Germany*.

And yet here I observed ignorance and paganism still prevailed, except in the *Muscovite* garrisons: All the country between the river *Oby*, and the river *Janezay*, is as entirely pagan, and the people as barbarous, as the remotest of the *Tartars*; nay, as any nation, for aught I know, in *Asia* or *America*. I also found, which I observed to the *Muscovite* governors, whom I had opportunity to converse with, that the pagans are not much the wiser, or the nearer Christianity, for being under the *Muscovite* government; which they acknowledged was true enough, but, they said, it was none of their business; that if the czar expected to convert his *Siberian*, or *Tonguese*, or *Tartar* subjects, it should be done by sending clergymen among them, not soldiers; and they added, with more sincerity than I expected, that they found it was not so much the concern of their monarch to make the people Christians, as it was to make them subjects.

From this river to the great river *Oby*, we crossed a wild uncultivated country; I cannot say 'tis a barbarous soil; 'tis only barren of people, and wants good management; otherwise it is in itself a most pleasant, fruitful, and agreeable country. What inhabitants we found in it are all pagans, except such as are sent among them from *Russia*; for this is the country, I mean on both sides the river *Oby*, whither the *Muscovite* criminals, that are not put to death, are banished, and from whence it is next to impossible they should ever come away.

I have nothing material to say of my particular affairs, till I came to *Tobolski*, the capital of *Siberia*,

beria, where I continued some time on the following occasion :—

We had been now almost seven months on our journey, and winter began to come on apace; whereupon my partner and I called a council about our particular affairs, in which we found it proper, considering that we were bound for *England*, and not for *Moscow*, to consider how to dispose of ourselves. They told us of sledges and rein deer to carry us over the snow in the winter-time; and, indeed, they have such things, as it would be incredible to relate the particulars of, by which means the *Russians* travel more in the winter than they can in summer; because in these sledges they are able to run night and day: the snow being frozen, is one universal covering to nature, by which the hills, the vales, the rivers, the lakes, are all smooth, and hard as a stone; and they run upon the surface, without any regard to what is underneath.

But I had no occasion to push at a winter journey of this kind; I was bound to *England*, not to *Moscow*, and my route lay two ways: either I must go on as the caravan went, till I came to *Jarislav*, and then go off west for *Narva*, and the gulph of *Finland*, and so either by sea or land to *Dantzick*, where I might possibly sell my *China* cargo to good advantage, or I must leave the caravan at a little town on the *Dwina*, from whence I had but six days by water to *Arch-Angel*, and from thence might be sure of shipping, either to *England*, *Holland*, or *Hamburg*.

Now to go any of these journies in the winter would have been preposterous; for as to *Dantzic*, the *Baltic* would be frozen up, and I could not get passage; and to go by land in those countries, was far less safe than among the *Mogul Tartars*; likewise to *Arch-Angel*, in *October* all the ships would be gone from thence, and even the merchants, who dwell there in summer, retire south to *Moscow* in the winter, when the ships are gone; so that I should have nothing but extremity of cold to encounter, with a scarcity of provisions, and must lie there in an empty town all the winter: so that, upon the whole, I thought it much my better way to let the caravan go, and to make provision to winter where I was, viz. at *Tobolski*, in *Siberia*, in the latitude of sixty degrees, where I was sure of three things to wear out a cold winter with, viz. plenty of provisions, such as the country afforded, a warm house, with fuel enough, and excellent company; of all which I shall give a full account in its place.

I was now in a quite different climate from my beloved island, where I never felt cold, except when I had my ague; on the contrary, I had much to do to bear my clothes on my back, and never made any fire but without doors, and my necessity, in dressing my food, &c. Now I made me three good vests, with large robes or gowns over them, to hang down to the feet, and button close to the wrists, and all these lined with furs, to make them sufficiently warm.

As to a warm house, I must confess, I greatly dislike our way in *England*, of making fires in every room

room in the house, in open chimnies, which, when the fire was out, always kept the air in the room cold as the climate. But taking an apartment in a good house in the town, I ordered a chimney to be built like a furnace, in the centre of six several rooms, like a stove; the funnel to carry the smoke went up one way, the door to come at the fire went in another, and all the rooms were kept equally warm, but no fire seen; like as they heat the bagnios in *England*.

By this means we had always the same climate in all the rooms, and an equal heat was preserved; and how cold soever it was without, it was always warm within; and yet we saw no fire, nor were ever incommoded with any smoke.

The most wonderful thing of all was, that it should be possible to meet with good company here, in a country so barbarous as that of the most northerly parts of *Europe*, near the frozen ocean, and within but a very few degrees of *Nova Zembla*.

But this being the country where the state criminals of *Muscovy*, as I observed before, are all banished; this city was full of noblemen, princes, gentlemen, colonels, and, in short, all degrees of the nobility, gentry, soldiery, and courtiers of *Muscovy*. Here were the famous Prince *Galilfken*, or *Galoffken*, and his son; the old general *Robostisky*, and several other persons of note, and some ladies.

By means of my *Scots* merchant, whom, nevertheless, I parted with here, I made an acquaintance with several of these gentlemen, and some of them of the first rank; and from these, in the long winter nights, in which I staid here, I received several agree-

able visits. It was talking one night with a certain prince, one of the banished ministers of state belonging to the czar of *Muscovy*, that my talk of my particular case began. He had been telling me abundance of fine things, of the greatness, the magnificence, and dominions, and the absolute power of the emperor of the *Russians*. I interrupted him, and told him, I was a greater and more powerful prince than ever the czar of *Muscovy* was, though my dominions were not so large, or my people so many. The *Russian* grandee looked a little surprized, and fixing his eyes steadily upon me, began to wonder what I meant.

I told him his wonder would cease when I had explained myself. First, I told him, I had the absolute disposal of the lives and fortunes of all my subjects: That notwithstanding my absolute power, I had not one person disaffected to my government or to my person, in all my dominions. He shook his head at that, and said, There, indeed, I out-did the czar of *Muscovy*. I told him, that all the lands in my kingdom were my own, and all my subjects were not only my tenants, but tenants at will; that they would all fight for me to the last drop; and that never tyrant, for such I acknowledged myself to be, was ever so universally beloved, and yet so horribly feared, by his subjects.

After amusing them with these riddles in government for a while, I opened the case, and told them the story at large of my living in the island, and how I managed both myself and the people there that were under me, just as I have since minuted it down. They were exceedingly taken with the story,
and

and especially the prince, who told me with a sigh, that the true greatness of life was to be master of ourselves; that he would not have changed such a state of life as mine, to have been czar of *Muscovy*; and that he found more felicity in the retirement he seemed to be banished to there, than ever he found in the highest authority he enjoyed in the court of his master the czar: that the height of human wisdom was to bring our tempers down to our circumstances, and to make a calm within, under the weight of the greatest storm without. When he came first hither, he said, he used to tear the hair from his head, and the clothes from his back, as others had done before him; but a little time and consideration had made him look into himself, as well as round himself, to things without: that he found the mind of man, if it was but once brought to reflect upon the state of universal life, and how little this world was concerned in its true felicity, was perfectly capable of making a felicity for itself, fully satisfying to itself, and suitable to its own best ends and desires, with but very little assistance from the world; that air to breathe in, food to sustain life, clothes for warmth, and liberty for exercise, in order to health, compleated, in his opinion, all that the world could do for us: and though the greatness, the authority, the riches, and the pleasures, which some enjoyed in the world, and which he had enjoyed his share of, had much in them that was agreeable to us, yet he observed, that all those things chiefly gratified the coarsest of our affections; such as our ambition, our particular pride, our avarice, our vanity, and our sensuality; all which were, indeed,

indeed, the mere product of the worst part of man, were in themselves crimes, and had in them the seeds of all manner of crimes; but neither were related to or concerned with, any of those virtues that constituted us wise men, or of those graces which distinguished us as *Christians*: that being now deprived of all the fancied felicity, which he enjoyed in the full exercise of all those vices, he said, he was at leisure to look upon the dark side of them, where he found all manner of deformity; and was now convinced, that virtue only makes a man truly wise, rich, and great, and preserves him in the way to a superior happiness in a future state; and in this, he said, they were more happy in their banishment, than all their enemies were, who had the full possession of all the wealth and power that they (the banished) had left behind them.

Nor, Sir, said he, do I bring my mind to this politically, by the necessity of my circumstances, which some call miserable; but, if I know any thing of myself, I would not go back, no not though my master, the czar, should call me, and offer to reinstate me in all my former grandeur; I say, I would no more go back to it, than I believe my soul when it shall be delivered from this prison of the body and has had a taste of the glorious state beyond life, would come back to the goal of flesh and blood it is now inclosed in, and leave heaven to deal in the dirt and grime of human affairs.

He spake this with so much warmth in his temper, so much earnestness and motion of his spirits, which were apparent in his countenance, that it was evident it was the true sense of his soul; and, indeed, there was no room to doubt his sincerity.

I told

I told him, I once thought myself a kind of a monarch in my old station, of which I had given him an account, but that I thought he was not a monarch only, but a great conqueror; for that he that has got a victory over his own exorbitant desires, and has the absolute dominion over himself, and whose reason entirely governs his will, is certainly greater than he that conquers a city. But, my lord, said I, shall I take the liberty to ask you a question? With all my heart, said he. If the door of your liberty was opened, said I, would not you take hold of it to deliver yourself from this exile?

Hold, said he, your question is subtle, and requires some serious just distinctions to give it a sincere answer; and I'll give it you from the bottom of my heart. Nothing that I know of in this world would move me to deliver myself from the state of banishment, except these two: First, the enjoyment of my relations; and, secondly, a little warmer climate: but I protest to you, that to go back to the pomp of the court, the glory, the power, the hurry of a minister of state; the wealth, the gaiety, and the pleasures, that is to say, follies of a courtier; if my master should send me word this moment, that he restores me to all he banished me from; I protest, if I know myself at all, I would not leave this wilderness, these desarts, and these frozen lakes, for the palace of *Moscow*.

But, my lord, said I, perhaps you not only are banished from the pleasures of the court, and from the power, and authority, and wealth, you enjoyed before, but you may be absent too from some of the conveniencies of life; your estate, perhaps, confiscated,
and

and your effects plundered ; and the supplies left you here may not be suitable to the ordinary demands of life.

Ay, said he, that is as you suppose me to be, a lord, or a prince, &c. So, indeed, I am ; but you are now to consider me only as a man, an human creature, not at all distinguished from another ; and so I can suffer no want, unless I should be visited with sickness and distempers. However, to put the question out of dispute ; you see our manner ; we are in this place five persons of rank ; we live perfectly retired, as suited to a state of banishment ; we have something rescued from the shipwreck of our fortunes, which keeps us from the mere necessity of hunting for our food ; but the poor soldiers who are here, without that help, live in as much plenty as we. They go into the woods, and catch fables and foxes ; the labour of a month will maintain them a year ; and as the way of living is not expensive, so it is not hard to get sufficient to ourselves : So that objection is out of doors.

I have no room to give a full account of the most agreeable conversation I had with this truly great man ; in all which he shewed, that his mind was so inspired with a superior knowledge of things, so supported by religion, as well as by a vast share of wisdom, that his contempt of the world was really as much as he had expressed, and that he was always the same to the last, as will appear in the story I am going to tell.

I had been here eight months, and a dark dreadful winter I thought it to be ; the cold was so intense, tha

that I could not so much as look abroad without being wrapt in furs, and a mask of fur before my face, or rather a hood, with only an hole for breath, and two for sight. The little day-light we had, was, as we reckoned, for three months, not above five hours a day, and six at most; only that the snow lying on the ground continually, and the weather being clear, it was never quite dark. Our horses were kept (or rather starved) under-ground; and, as, for our servants (for we hired servants here to look after our horses and ourselves), we had every now and then their fingers and toes to thaw, and take care of, lest they should mortify and fall off.

It is true, within doors we were warm, the houses being close, the walls thick, the lights small, and the glafs all double. Our food was chiefly the flesh of deer, dried and cured in the season; good bread enough, but baked as biscuits; dried fish of several sorts, and some flesh of mutton, and of buffaloes, which is pretty good beef. All the store of provision for the winter are laid up in the summer, and well cured; our drink was water mixed with aqua vitæ instead of brandy; and, for a treat, mead instead of wine; which, however, they have excellent good. The hunters, who ventured abroad all weathers, frequently brought us in fresh venison, very fat and good; and sometimes bears flesh, but we did not much care for the last. We had a good stock of tea, with which we treated our friends as above; and, in a word, we lived very chearfully and well, all things considered.

It was now *March*, and the days grown considerably longer, and the weather at least tolerable; so
other

other travellers began to prepare sledges to carry them over the snow, and to get things ready to be going ; but my measures being fixed, as I have said, for *Arch-Angel*, and not for *Muscovy* or the *Baltick*, I made no motion, knowing very well, that the ships from the south do not set out for that part of the world till *May* or *June* ; and that if I was there at the beginning of *August*, it would be as soon as any ships would be ready to go away ; and therefore, I say, I made no haste to be gone, as others did ; in a word, I saw a great many people, nay, all the travellers, go away before me. It seems, every year they go from thence to *Moscow* for trade ; viz. to carry furs, and buy necessaries with them, which they bring back to furnish their shops ; also others went on the same errand to *Arch-Angel* ; but then they also, being to come back again above eight hundred miles, went all out before me.

In short, about the latter end of *May*, I began to make all ready to pack up ; and as I was doing this, it occurred to me, that seeing all these people were banished by the czar of *Muscovy* to *Siberia*, and yet, when they came there, were at liberty to go whither they would ; why did they not then go away to any part of the world wherever they thought fit ? and I began to examine what should hinder them from making such an attempt.

But my wonder was over, when I entered upon that subject with the person I have mentioned, who answered me thus : Consider, first, said he, the place where we are ; and, secondly, the condition we are in ; especially, said he, the generality of the people

people who are banished hither. We are furrounded, said he, with stronger things than bars and bolts: on the north side is an unnavigable ocean, where ship never failed, and boat never swam; neither, if we had both, could we know whither to go with them. Every other way, said he, we have above a thousand miles to pass through the czar's own dominions, and by ways utterly impassable, except by the roads made by the government, and through the towns garrisoned by his troops; so that we could neither pass undiscovered by the road, or subsist any other way: so that it is in vain to attempt it.

I was silenced, indeed, at once, and found that they were in a prison, every jot as secure, as if they had been locked up in the castle of *Moscow*; however, it came into my thoughts, that I might certainly be made an instrument to procure the escape of this excellent person, and that it was very easy for me to carry him away, there being no guard over him in the country; and as I was not going to *Moscow*, but to *Arch-Angel*, and that I went in the nature of a caravan, by which I was not obliged to lie in the stationary towns in the desert, but could encamp every night were I would, we might easily pass uninterrupted to *Arch-Angel*, where I could immediately secure him on board an *English* or *Dutch* ship, and carry him off safe along with me; and as to his subsistence, and other particulars, that should be my care, till he should better supply himself.

He heard me very attentively, and looked earnestly on me all the while I spoke; nay, I could see in his very face, that what I said put his spirits into an exceeding

ceeding ferment ; his colour frequently changed, his eyes looked red, and his heart fluttered, that it might be even perceived in his countenance ; nor could he immediately answer me when I had done, and, as it were, expected what he would say to it ; and after he had paused a little, he embraced me, and said, How unhappy are we ! unguided creatures as we are, that even our greatest acts of friendship are made snares to us, and we are made tempters of one another ! My dear friend, said he, your offer is so sincere, has such kindness in it, is so disinterested in itself, and is so calculated for my advantage, that I must have very little knowledge of the world, if I did not both wonder at it, and acknowledge the obligation I have upon me to you for it : But did you believe I was sincere in what I have so often said to you of my contempt of the world ? Did you believe I spoke my very soul to you, and that I had really maintained that degree of felicity here, that had placed me above all that the world could give me, or do for me ? Did you believe I was sincere, when I told you I would not go back, if I was recalled even to be all that once I was in the court, and with the favour of the czar my master ? Did you believe me, my friend, to be an honest man, or did you think me to be a boasting hypocrite ?—Here he stopped, as if he would hear what I would say ; but, indeed, I soon after perceived, that he stopped because his spirits were in motion ; his heart was full of struggles, and he could not go on. I was, I confess, astonished at the thing, as well as at the man, and I used some arguments with him to urge him to set himself free ; that he ought to look upon this as a
2 door

door opened by Heaven for his deliverance, and a summons by Providence, who has the care and good disposition of all events, to do himself good, and to render himself useful in the world.

He had by this time recovered himself. How do you know, Sir, said he, warmly, but that instead of a summons from Heaven, it may be a feint of another instrument, representing, in all the alluring colours, to me, the shew of felicity as a deliverance, which may in itself be my snare, and tend directly to my ruin? Here I am free from the temptation of returning to my former miserable greatness; there I am not sure, but that all the seeds of pride, ambition, avarice, and luxury, which I know remain in my nature, may revive and take root, and, in a word, again overwhelm me; and then the happy prisoner, whom you see now master of his soul's liberty, shall be the miserable slave of his own senses, in the full possession of all personal liberty. Dear Sir, let me remain in this blessed confinement, banished from the crimes of life, rather than purchase a show of freedom at the expence of the liberty of my reason, and at the expence of the future happiness which now I have in my view, but shall then, I fear, quickly lose sight of; for I am but flesh, a man, a mere man, have passions and affections as likely to possess and overthrow me as any man: O be not my friend and my tempter both together!

If I was surpris'd before, I was quite dumb now, and stood silent, looking at him; and, indeed, admired what I saw; the struggle in his soul was so

great, that though the weather was extremely cold, it put him into a most violent sweat, and I found he wanted to give vent to his mind; so I said a word or two, that I would leave him to consider of it, and wait on him again; and then I withdrew to my own apartment.

About two hours after, I heard somebody at or near the door of the room, and I was going to open the door; but he had opened it, and come in: My dear friend, said he, you had almost overset me, but I am recovered: do not take it ill that I do not close with your offer; I assure you, it is not for want of a sense of the kindness of it in you; and I come to make the most sincere acknowledgement of it to you; but, I hope, I have got the victory over myself.

My lord, said I, I hope you are fully satisfied, that you did not resist the call of Heaven. Sir, said he, if it had been from Heaven, the same power would have influenced me to accept it; but I hope, and am fully satisfied, that it is from Heaven that I decline it; and I have an infinite satisfaction in the parting, that you shall leave me an honest man still, though not a free man.

I had nothing to do but to acquiesce, and make profession to him of my having no end in it, but a sincere desire to serve him. He embraced me very passionately, and assured me, he was sensible of that, and should always acknowledge it; and with that he offered me a very fine present of fables, too much indeed for me to accept from a man in his circumstances; and I would have avoided them, but he would not be refused.

The

The next morning I sent my servant to his lordship, with a small present of tea, two pieces of China damask, and four little wedges of japan gold, which did not all weigh above six ounces, or thereabouts; but were far short of the value of his fables, which indeed, when I came to *England*, I found worth near two hundred pounds. He accepted the tea, and one piece of the damask, and one of the pieces of gold, which had a fine stamp upon it, of the *Japan* coinage, which I found he took for the rarity of it, but would not take any more; and sent word by my servant, that he desired to speak with me.

When I came to him, he told me, I knew what had passed between us, and hoped I would not move him any more in that affair; but that, since I made such a generous offer to him, he asked me, if I had kindness enough to offer the same to another person that he would name to me, in whom he had a great share of concern. I told him, that I could not say I inclined to do so much for any one but himself, for whom I had a particular value, and should have been glad to have been the instrument of his deliverance: however, if he would please to name the person to me, I would give him my answer, and hoped he would not be displeased with me, if he was with my answer. He told me, it was only his son, who, though I had not seen, yet was in the same condition with himself, and above two hundred miles from him, on the other side the *Oby*; but that, if I consented, he would send for him.

I made no hesitation, but told him I would do it: I made some ceremony in letting him understand that it was wholly on his account; and that seeing I

could not prevail on him, I would shew my respect to him by my concern for his son: but these things are too tedious to repeat here. He sent away the next day for his son, and in about twenty days he came back with the messenger, bringing six or seven horses loaded with very rich furs, and which, in the whole, amounted to a very great value.

His servants brought the horses into the town, but left the young lord at a distance till night, when he came *incognito* into our apartment, and his father presented him to me; and, in short, we concerted there the manner of our travelling, and every thing proper for the journey.

I had bought a considerable quantity of fables, black fox-skins, fine ermins, and such other furs that are very rich; I say, I had bought them in that city for exchange for some of the goods brought from *China*; in particular, for the cloves and nutmegs, of which I sold the greatest part here; and the rest afterwards at *Arch-Angel*, for a much better price than I could have done at *London*; and my partner, who was sensible of the profit, and whose business, more particularly than mine, was merchandize, was mightily pleased with our stay, on account of the traffic we made here.

It was in the beginning of *June* when I left this remote place, a city, I believe, little heard of in the world; and, indeed, it is so far out of the road of commerce, that I know not how it should be much talked of. We were now come to a very small caravan, being only thirty-two horses and camels in all, and all of them passed for mine, though my new guest was proprietor of eleven of them. It was most
natural

natural also, that I should take more servants with me than I had before, and the young lord passed for my steward; what great man I passed for myself I know not, neither did it concern me to enquire. We had here the worst and the largest desert to pass over that we met with in all the journey; indeed I call it the worst, because the way was very deep in some places, and very uneven in others; the best we had to say for it, was, that we thought we had no troops of *Tartars* and robbers to fear, and that they never came on this side the river *Oby*, or at least but very seldom; but we found it otherwise.

My young lord had with him a faithful *Muscovite* servant, or rather a *Siberian* servant, who was perfectly acquainted with the country; and who led us by private roads, that we avoided coming into the principal towns and cities upon the great road, such as *Tumen*, *Soloy Kamaskoy*, and several others; because the *Muscovite* garrisons, which are kept there, are very curious and strict in their observation upon travellers, and searching lest any of the banished persons of note should make their escape that way into *Muscovy*; but by this means, as we were kept out of the cities, so our whole journey was a desert, and we were obliged to encamp and lie in our tents, when we might have had good accommodation in the cities on the way: this the young lord was so sensible of, that he would not allow us to lie abroad, when we came to several cities on the way; but lay abroad himself, with his servant, in the woods, and met us always at the appointed places.

We were just entered *Europe*, having passed the river *Kama*, which, in these parts, is the boundary

between *Europe* and *Asia*; and the first city on the *European* side was called *Soloy Kamoskoy*, which is as much as to say, the great city on the river *Kama*; and here we thought to have seen some evident alteration in the people, their manners, their habit, their religion, and their business; but we were mistaken; for as we had a vast desert to pass, which, by relation, is near seven hundred miles long in some places, but not above two hundred miles over where we passed it; so, till we came past that horrible place, we found very little difference between that country, and the *Mogul Tartary*; the people mostly *Pagans*, and little better than the savages of *America*; their houses and towns full of idols, and their way of living wholly barbarous, except in the cities as above, and the villages near them; where they are *Christians*, as they call themselves, of the *Greek* church; but even these have their religion mingled with so many reliques of superstition, that it is scarce to be known in some places from mere sorcery and witchcraft.

In passing this forest, I thought, indeed, we must, after all our dangers were, in our imagination, escaped, as before, have been plundered and robbed, and perhaps murdered by a troop of thieves; of what country they were, whether the roving bands of the *Ostiachi*, a kind of *Tartars*, or wild people on the banks of the *Oby*, had ranged thus far; or whether they were the fable-hunters of *Siberia*, I am yet at a loss to know; but they were all on horseback, carried bows and arrows, and were at first about five-and-forty in number; they came so near to

us as within about two musquet shot; and, asking no questions, they furrounded us with their horse, and looked very earnestly upon us twice; at length they placed themselves just in our way; upon which we drew up in a little line before our camels, being not above sixteen men in all; and being drawn up thus, we halted, and sent out the *Siberian* servant who attended his lord, to see who they were; his master was the more willing to let him go, because he was not a little apprehensive that they were a *Siberian* troop sent out after him. The man came up near them with a flag of truce, and called to them; but though he spoke several of their languages, or dialects of languages rather, he could not understand a word they said: however, after some signs to him not to come nearer to them at his peril, so he said he understood them to mean, offering to shoot at him if he advanced, the fellow came back no wiser than he went, only that by their dress, he said, he believed them to be some *Tartars* of *Kalmuck*, or of the *Circassian* hords; and that there must be more of them on the great desert, though he never heard that ever any of them were seen so far north before.

This was small comfort to us; however, we had no remedy: there was on our left hand, at about a quarter of a mile's distance, a little grove or clump of trees, which stood close together, and very near the road; I immediately resolved we would advance to those trees, and fortify ourselves as well as we could there; for, first, I considered that the trees would in a great measure cover us from their arrows; and in the next place, they could not

come to charge us in a body : it was, indeed, my old *Portuguese* pilot who proposed it ; and who had this excellency attending him, namely, that he was always readiest and most apt to direct and encourage us in cases of the most danger. We advanced immediately with what speed we could, and gained that little wood, the *Tartars*, or thieves, for we knew not what to call them, keeping their stand, and not attempting to hinder us. When we came thither, we found, to our great satisfaction, that it was a swampy, springy piece of ground, and, on the other side, a great spring of water, which, running out in a little rill or brook, was a little farther joined by another of the like bigness ; and was, in short, the head, or source of a considerable river, called afterwards the *Wirtska*. The trees which grew about this spring, were not in all above two hundred, but were very large, and stood pretty thick ; so that as soon as we got in, we saw ourselves perfectly safe from the enemy, unless they alighted and attacked us on foot.

But to make this more difficult, our *Portuguese*, with indefatigable application, cut down great arms of the trees, and laid them hanging, not cut quite off, from one tree to another ; so that he made a continued fence almost round us.

We staid here, waiting the motion of the enemy some hours, without perceiving they made any offer to stir ; when about two hours before night, they came down directly upon us ; and, though we had not perceived it, we found they had been joined by some more of the same, so that they were near four-score

score horse, whereof, however, we fancied some were women. They came in till they were within half a shot of our little wood, when we fired one musquet without ball, and called to them in the *Russian* tongue, to know what they wanted, and bid them keep off; but, as if they knew nothing of what we said, they came on with a double fury directly up to the wood-side, not imagining we were so barricaded, that they could not break in: our old pilot was our captain, as well as he had been our engineer; and desired of us, not to fire upon them till they came within pistol shot, that we might be sure to kill; and that when we did fire, we should be sure to take good aim. We bade him give the word of command; which he delayed so long, that they were, some of them, within two pikes length of us when we fired.

We aimed so true (or Providence directed our shot so sure) that we killed fourteen of them at the first volley, and wounded several others, as also several of their horses; for we had all of us loaded our pieces with two or three bullets a piece, at least.

They were terribly surpris'd with our fire, and retreated immediately about one hundred rods from us; in which time we loaded our pieces again, and, seeing them keep that distance, we sallied out, and caught four or five of their horses, whose riders, we supposed, were killed; and coming up to the dead, we could easily perceive they were *Tartars*, but knew not from what country, or how they came to make an excursion such an unusual length.

About an hour after, they made a motion to attack us again, and rode round our little wood, to see where else they might break in; but finding us
always

always ready to face them, they went off again, and we resolved not to stir from the place for that night.

We slept a little, you may be sure ; but spent the most part of the night in strengthening our situation, and barricading the entrances into the wood ; and, keeping a strict watch, we waited for day-light, and, when it came, it gave us a very unwelcome discovery indeed : for the enemy, who we thought were discouraged with the reception they had met with, were now increased to no less than three hundred, and had set up eleven or twelve huts and tents, as if they were resolved to besiege us ; and this little camp they had pitched, was upon the open plain, at about three quarters of a mile from us. We were indeed surprized at this discovery ; and now, I confess, I gave myself over for lost, and all that I had. The loss of my effects did not lie so near me (though they were very considerable) as the thoughts of falling into the hands of such barbarians, at the latter end of my journey, after so many difficulties and hazards as I had gone through ; and even in sight of our port, where we expected safety and deliverance. As for my partner, he was raging : he declared, that to lose his goods would be his ruin ; and he would rather die than be starved ; and he was for fighting to the last drop.

The young lord, as gallant as ever flesh shewed itself, was for fighting to the last also ; and my old pilot was of the opinion we were able to resist them all, in the situation we then were in : and thus we spent the day in debates of what we should do ; but towards evening, we found that the number of
our

our enemies still increased: perhaps, as they were abroad in several parties for prey, the first had sent out scouts to call for help, and to acquaint them of their booty; and we did not know but by the morning they might still be a greater number; so I began to enquire of those people we had brought from *Tobolski*, if there was no other, or more private ways, by which we might avoid them in the night, and perhaps, either retreat to some town, or get help to guard us over the desert.

The *Siberian*, who was servant to the young lord, told us, if we designed to avoid them, and not fight, he would engage to carry us off in the night to a way that went north towards the river *Petrax*, by which he made no doubt but we might get away, and the *Tartars* never the wiser; but he said, his lord had told him he would not return, but would rather chuse to fight. I told him, he mistook his lord; for that he was too wise a man to love fighting for the sake of it; that I knew his lord was brave enough by what he had shewed already; but that his lord knew better than to desire to have seventeen or eighteen men fight five hundred, unless an unavoidable necessity forced them to it; and that if he thought it possible for us to escape in the night, we had nothing else to do but to attempt it. He answered, if his lord gave him such order, he would lose his life if he did not perform it. We soon brought his lord to give that order, though privately, and we immediately prepared for the putting it in practice.

And first, as soon as it began to be dark, we kindled a fire in our little camp, which we kept burning,

burning, and prepared so as to make it burn all night, that the *Tartars* might conclude we were still there; but, as soon as it was dark, that is to say, so as we could see the stars, (for our guide would not stir before) having all our horses and camels ready loaded, we followed our new guide, who, I soon found, steered himself by the pole, or north star, all the country being level for a long way.

After we had travelled two hours very hard, it began to be lighter still; not that it was quite dark all night, but the moon began to rise, so that, in short, it was rather lighter than we wished it to be; but by six o'clock next morning, we were gotten near forty miles, though the truth is, we almost spoiled our horses. Here we found a *Russian* village, named *Kirmazinskoy*, where we rested, and heard nothing of the *Calmuck Tartars* that day. About two hours before night we set out again, and travelled till eight the next morning, though not quite so hastily as before; and about seven o'clock we passed a little river, called *Kirtza*, and came to a good large town inhabited by *Russians*, and very populous, called *Ozomys*: There we heard, that several troops, or herds of *Calmucks* had been abroad upon the desert, but that we were now completely out of danger of them, which was to our great satisfaction, you may be sure. Here we were obliged to get some fresh horses, and having need enough of rest, we staid five days; and my partner and I agreed to give the honest *Siberian*, who brought us hither, the value of ten pistoles for his conducting us.

In five days more we came to *Veussima*, upon the river *Witzogda*, which running into the river *Dwina*,
we

we were there very happily near the end of our travels by land, that river being navigable in seven days passage to *Arch-Angel*: from hence we came to *Lawrenskoy*, where the river joins, the third of *July*; and provided ourselves with two luggage-boats, and a barge, for our convenience. We embarked the seventh, and arrived all safe at *Arch-Angel* the eighteenth, having been a year, five months, and three days on the journey, including our stay of eight months and odd days at *Tobolski*.

We were obliged to stay at this place six weeks for the arrival of the ships, and must have tarried longer, had not a *Hamburgher* come in above a month sooner than any of the *English* ships; when, after some consideration, that the city of *Hamburgh* might happen to be as good a market for our goods as *London*, we all took freight with him; and having put our goods on board, it was most natural for me to put my steward on board to take care of them; by which means my young lord had a sufficient opportunity to conceal himself, never coming on shore again in all the time we staid there; and this he did, that he might not be seen in the city, where some of the *Moscow* merchants would certainly have seen and discovered him.

We sailed from *Arch-Angel* the twentieth of *August* the same year; and, after no extraordinary bad voyage, arrived in the *Elbe* the thirteenth of *September*: here my partner and I found a very good sale for our goods, as well those of *China*, as the fables, &c. of *Siberia*; and dividing the produce of our effects, my share amounted to 3475^l. 17s. 3d. notwithstanding so many losses we had sustained, and charges

charges we had been at ; only remembering that I had included, in this, about 600*l.* worth of diamonds, which I had purchased at *Bengal*.

Here the young lord took his leave of us, and went up the *Elbe*, in order to go to the court of *Vienna*, where he resolved to seek protection, and where he could correspond with those of his father's friends who were left alive. He did not part without all the testimonies he could give, of gratitude for the service I had done him, and his sense of my kindness to the prince his father.

To conclude : having staid near four months in *Hamburgh*, I came from thence over land to the *Hague*, where I embarked in the packet, and arrived in *London* the 10th of *January*, 1705, having been gone from *England* ten years and nine months.

And here, resolving to harass myself no more, I am preparing for a longer journey than all these, having lived seventy-two years a life of infinite variety, and learned sufficiently to know the value of retirement, and the blessing of ending our days in peace.

END OF CRUSOE.

THE



Medland sculp^r

DANIEL DE FOE

Published Sept. 19. 1790 by I. Stockdale, Piccadilly.

T H E
L I F E
O F
D A N I E L D E F O E.

BY GEORGE CHALMERS, ESQ.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY.

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A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

TH E ensuing Life was written for amusement, during a period of convalescence in 1785; and published anonymously by Stockdale, before *The History of the Union*, in 1786. As the Author fears no reproach for such amusement, during such a period, he made no strong objections to Stockdale's solicitations, that it might be annexed, with the Author's name, to this splendid edition of ROBINSON CRUSOE. The Reader will now have the benefit of a few corrections, with some additions, and a LIST of DE FOE's WRITINGS.

T H E
L I F E O F D E F O E.

IT is lamented by those who labour the fields of British biography, that after being entangled in briars they are often rewarded with the scanty products of barrenness. The lives of literary men are generally passed in the obscurities of the closet, which conceal even from friendly inquiries the artifices of study, whereby each may have risen to eminence. And during the same moment that the diligent biographer sets out to ask for information, with regard to the origin, the modes of life, or the various fortunes of writers who have amused or instructed their country, the house-keeper, the daughter, or grand-child, that knew connexions and traditions, drop into the grave.

These reflexions naturally arose from my inquiries about the life of the Author of *THE HISTORY OF THE UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN*; and of *THE ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE*. Whether he were born on the neighbouring continent, or in this island; in London, or in the country; was equally uncertain. And whether his name were Foe, or De Foe, was somewhat doubtful. Like

Swift, he had perhaps reasons for concealing what would have added little to his consequence. It is at length known, with sufficient certainty, that our author was the son of James Foe, of the parish of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, London, Citizen and Butcher. The concluding sentiment of *The True-born Englishman*, we now see, was then as natural as it will ever be just :

Then, let us boast of ancestors no more,
For, fame of families is all a cheat;
'Tis personal virtue only makes us great.

If we may credit the Gazette, Daniel Foe, or De Foe, as he is said by his enemies to have called himself, that he might not be thought an Englishman, was born in London *, about the year 1663. His family were probably Dissenters †, among whom he

* It is at last discovered, by searching *The Chamberlain's* books, which have since been burnt, that our author was the son of James Foe, of the parish of Cripplegate, London, Citizen and Butcher; who was himself the son of Daniel Foe, of Elton, in the county of Northampton, Yeoman; and who obtained his Freedom by serving his apprenticeship with John Levit, Citizen and Butcher. Daniel Foe, the son of James, was admitted to *his Freedom by birth*, on the 26th of January, 1687-8. I was led to these discoveries by observing that De Foe had voted at an election for a Representative of London; whence I inferred, that he must have been a citizen either by birth or service. But in the parish books I could find no notice of his baptism; as his parents were Dissenters.

† In his Preface to "*More Reformation*," De Foe complains, That some Dissenters had reproached him, as if he had said, "that the gallows and the gallies ought to be the penalty of going to the conventicle; forgetting, that I must design to have my father, my wife, six innocent children, and myself, put into the same condition. To such Dissenters I can only regret," says he, "That when

he received no unlettered education; at least it is plain, from his various writings, that he was a zealous defender of their principles, and a strenuous supporter of their politics, before the liberality of our rulers in church and state had freed this conduct from danger. He merits the praise which is due to sincerity in manner of thinking, and to uniformity in habits of acting, whatever obloquy may have been cast on his name, by attributing writings to him, which, as they belonged to others, he was studious to disavow.

Our Author was educated at a dissenting academy, which was kept at Newington-Green by Charles Morton. He delights to praise “that learned gentleman*,” whose instructive lessons he probably enjoyed from 1675 to 1680, as a master, who taught nothing either in politics, or science, which was dangerous to monarchical government, or which was improper for a diligent scholar to know. Being in 1705 accused by Tutchin of illiterature, De Foe archly acknowledged, “I owe this justice to my ancient father, who is yet living, and in whose behalf I freely testify, that if I am a blockhead, it was nobody’s fault but my own; he having spared nothing that might qualify me to match the accurate Dr. B — or the most learned Tutchin†.”

when I had drawn the picture, I did not, like the Dutchman with his man and bear, write under them---*This is the man; and this is the bear.*” De Foe expressly admits, that he was a DISSENTER, though no *independent, fifth-monarchy man, or leveller.* De F. Works, edit. 1703. p. 326---448.—* Works, 3d. edit. vol. ii. p. 276.—† Review, vol. ii. p. 150.

De Foe was born a writer, as other men are born generals and statesmen: and when he was not twenty-one, he published, in 1683, a pamphlet against a very prevailing sentiment in favour of the Turks, as opposed to the Austrians; very justly thinking, as he avows in his riper age, that it was better the Popish House of Austria should ruin the Protestants in Hungary, than the infidel House of Ottoman should ruin both Protestants and Papists, by over-running Germany *. De Foe was a man who would fight as well as write for his principles: and before he was three-and-twenty he appeared in arms for the Duke of Monmouth, in June 1685. Of this exploit he boasts† in his latter years, when it was no longer dangerous to avow his participation in that imprudent enterprise, with greater men of similar principles.

Having escaped from the dangers of battle, and from the fangs of Jefferys, De Foe found complete security in the more gainful pursuits of peace. Yet, he was prompted by his zeal to mingle in the controversies of the reign of James 2d, whom he efficaciously opposed, by warning the Dissenters of the secret danger of the insidious tolerance, which was offered by the monarch's bigotry, or by the minister's artifice. When our Author collected his writings, he did not think proper to republish either his tract against the Turks, or his pamphlet against the King.

De Foe was admitted a Liveryman of London on the 26th of January, 1687—8; when, being allowed his freedom by birth, he was received a mem-

* Appeal, p. 51.

† Appeal.

ber of that eminent corporation. As he had endeavoured to promote the revolution by his pen and his sword, he had the satisfaction of partaking, ere long, in the pleasures and advantages of that great event. During the hilarity of that moment, the Lord Mayor of London asked King William to partake of the city feast on the 29th of October, 1689. Every honour was paid the Sovereign of the people's choice. A regiment of volunteers, composed of the chief citizens, and commanded by the celebrated Earl of Peterborough, attended the King and Queen from Whitehall to the Mansion House. Among these troopers, gallantly mounted, and richly accoutred, was Daniel De Foe, if we may believe Oldmixon*.

While our author thus displayed his zeal, and courted notice, he is said to have acted as a hosier in Freeman's Yard, Cornhill: but the hosier† and the poet are very irreconcilable characters. With the usual imprudence of superior genius, he was carried by his vivacity into companies who were gratified by his wit. He spent those hours with a small society for the cultivation of polite learning, which he ought to have employed in the calculations of the counting-house: and being obliged to abscond from his creditors in 1692, he naturally attri-

* Hist. vol. ii. p. 37.

† Being reproached by Tutchin in his *Observer* with having been bred an apprentice to a hosier, De Foe asserts, in May 1705, that he never was a hosier, or an apprentice, but admits that he had been a *Trader*. [Review, vol. ii. p. 149.] Oldmixon, who never speaks favourably of De Foe, allows that he had never been a merchant otherwise than peddling a little to Portugal. Hist. vol. ii. p. 519.—But, *Peddling to Portugal* makes a *Trader*.

buted those misfortunes to the war, which were probably owing to his own misconduct. An angry creditor took out a commission of bankruptcy, which was soon superseded on the petition of those to whom he was most indebted, who accepted a composition on his single bond. This he punctually paid by the efforts of unwearied diligence. But some of those creditors, who had been thus satisfied, falling afterwards into distress themselves, De Foe voluntarily paid them their whole claims; being then in rising circumstances from King William's favour*. This is such an example of honesty, as it would be unjust to De Foe and to the world to conceal. Being reproached in 1705 by Lord Haverſham with mercenariness, our author feelingly mentions; "How, with a numerous family, and no helps but his own industry, he had forced his way with undiscouraged diligence, through a sea of misfortunes, and reduced his debts, exclusive of composition, from seventeen thousand to less than five thousand pounds†." He continued to carry on the pan-tile works near Tilbury-fort; though probably with no great success. It was afterwards sarcastically said, *that he did not, like the Egyptians, require bricks without straw, but, like the Jews, required bricks without paying his labourers.* He was born for other enterprises, which, if they did not gain him opulence, have conferred a renown, that will descend the stream of time with the language wherein his works are written.

While he was yet under thirty, and had mortified no great man by his satire, or offended any party

* The Mercator, No. 101.—† Reply to Lord Haverſham's Vindication.

by his pamphlets, he had acquired friends by his powers of pleasing, who did not, with the usual instability of friendships, desert him amidst his distresses. They offered to settle him as a factor at Cadiz, where, as a trader, he had some previous correspondence. In this situation he might have procured business by his care, and accumulated wealth without a risque: but, as he assures us in his old age, *Providence, which had other work for him to do, placed a secret aversion in his mind to quitting England.* He had confidence enough in his own talents to think, that on this field he could gather laurels, or at least gain a livelihood.

In a *projecting age*, as our Author denominates King William's reign, he was himself a projector. While he was yet young, De Foe was prompted by a vigorous mind to think of many schemes, and to offer, what was most pleasing to the ruling powers, *ways and means* for carrying on the war. He wrote, as he says, *many sheets about the coin*; he proposed a register for seamen, *long before the act of Parliament was thought of*; he projected *county banks and factories for goods*; he mentioned a *proposal for a commission of inquiries into bankrupt's estates*; he contrived a *pension-office for the relief of the poor*. At length, in January 1696—7, he published his *Essay upon Projects*; which he dedicated to Dalby Thomas, not as a Commissioner of glass duties, under whom he then served, or as a friend, to whom he acknowledges obligations; but as to the most proper judge on the subject. It is always curious to trace a thought, in order to see where it first originated, or how it was afterwards expanded. Among other projects, which shew a wide range of knowledge,

ledge, he suggests to King William the imitation of Lewis 14th, in the establishment of a society “for encouraging polite learning, for refining the English language, and for preventing barbarisms of manners.” Prior offered in 1700 the same project to King William, in his *Carmen Seculare*; Swift mentioned in 1710 to Lord Oxford a proposal for improving the English tongue; and Tickell flatters himself in his *Prospect of Peace*, that our daring language—shall sport no more in arbitrary sound. However his projects were taken, certain it is, that when De Foe ceased to be a trader, he was, by the interposition of Dalby Thomas probably, appointed in 1695, *accountant* to the Commissioners for managing the duties on glass; who, with our Author ceased to act, on the first of August, 1699, when the tax was suppressed by act of Parliament*.

From projects of *ways and means*, De Foe's ardour soon carried him into the thorny paths of satiric poetry; and his muse produced, in January 1700—1, *The True-born Englishman*. Of the origin of this satire, which was the cause of much good fortune, but of some disasters, he gives himself the following account:—“During this time came out an abhorred pamphlet, in very ill verse, written by one Mr. Tutchin, and called *The Foreigners*; in which the Author, who he was I then knew not, fell personally upon the King, then upon the Dutch nation, and, after having reproached his Majesty with crimes that his worst enemies could not think of without horror, he sums up all in the odious name of FOREIGNER. This filled me with a kind of rage against the book, and gave birth to a trifle,

* 10-11 Wm. III. ch. 18.

which

which I never could hope should have met with so general an acceptation." The sale was prodigious, and probably unexampled; as Sacheverel's trial had not then appeared. *The True-born Englishman* was answered, paragraph by paragraph, in February 1700—1, by a writer, who brings haste to apologize for dulness. For this Defence of King William and the Dutch, which was doubtless circulated by detraction and by power, De Foe was amply rewarded. "How this poem was the occasion," says he, "of my being known to his Majesty; how I was afterwards received by him; how employed abroad; and how, above my capacity of deserving, rewarded, is no part of the present case." Of the particulars, which the Author thus declined to tell, nothing now can be told. It is only certain, that he was admitted to personal interviews with the King, who was no reader of poetry; and that for the Royal favours De Foe was always grateful.

When "the pen and ink war was raised against a standing army," subsequent to the peace of Ryf-wick, our Author published AN ARGUMENT, to prove that a standing army, with consent of Parliament, is not inconsistent with a free government. "Liberty and property," says he, "are the glorious attributes of the English nation; and the dearer they are to us, the less danger we are in of losing them: but I could never yet see it proved, that the danger of losing them by a small army was such, as we should expose ourselves to all the world for it. It is not the King of England alone, but the sword of England in the hand of the King, that gives laws of peace and war now to Europe: and those who would thus wrest the sword out of his hand in time of peace, bid the fairest of all men
in

in the world to renew the war." He, who is desirous of reading this treatise on an interesting topic, will meet with strength of argument, conveyed in elegant language.

When the nation flamed with faction, the Grand Jury of Kent presented to the Commons, on the 8th of May 1701, a petition, which desired them--- "to mind the public business more, and their private heats less;" and which contained a sentiment, that there was a design, as Burnet tells, other counties and the city of London should equally adopt. Messrs. Culpeppers, Polhill, Hamilton, and Champneys, who avowed this intrepid paper, were committed to the Gatehouse, amid the applauses of their countrymen. It was on this occasion that De Foe's genius dictated a Remonstrance, which was signed *Legion*, and which has been recorded in history for its bold truths and seditious petulance. De Foe's zeal induced him to assume a woman's dress, while he delivered this factious paper to Harley, the Speaker, as he entered the House of Commons*. It was then also that our Author, who was transported by an equal attachment to the country and the

* Mr. Polhill, of Cheapstead-place, in Kent, whose father, Mr. David Polhill, was committed to the Gatehouse, and thereby gained great popularity, was so good as communicate to me the curious anecdote of De Foe's dressing himself in women's clothes, and presenting the *Legion Paper* to the Speaker. De Foe says himself in his *Original Power of the People*, p. 24: "This is evident from the tenor and yet undiscovered original of the *Legion Paper*; the contents of which had so much plain truth of fact; and which I could give a better history of, if it were needful." When De Foe republished his works in 1703, he thought it prudent to expunge this passage, that too plainly pointed out the *real history of the Legion Paper*, which is not mentioned by the *Commons Journals*.

court, published *The Original Power of the collective Body of the People of England, examined and asserted*. This timeful treatise he dedicated to King William, in a dignified strain of nervous eloquence. “It is not the least of the extraordinaries of your Majesty’s character,” says he, “that, as you are King of your people, so you are the people’s King; a title, which, as it is the most glorious, so it is the most indisputable.” To the Lords and Commons he addresses himself in a similar tone: The vindication of the original right of all men to the government of themselves, he tells them, is so far from being a derogation from, that it is a confirmation of their legal authority. Every lover of liberty must be pleased with the perusal of a treatise, which vies with Mr. Locke’s famous tract in powers of reasoning, and is superior to it in the graces of style.

At a time when “union and charity, the one relating to our civil, and the other to our religious concerns, were strangers in the land,” De Foe published *The Freeholder’s Plea against Stockjobbing Elections of Parliament Men*. “It is very rational to suppose,” says our Author, “that they who will buy will sell; or, what seems more rational, they who have bought must sell.” This is certainly a persuasive performance, though we may suppose, that many voters were influenced then by arguments still more persuasive. And he concludes with a sentiment, which has not been too often repeated, That nothing can make us formidable to our neighbours, and maintain the reputation of our nation, but union among ourselves.

How much soever King William may have been pleased with *The True-born Englishman*, or with
other

other services, he was little gratified probably by our Author's *Reasons against a War with France*. This argument, *shewing that the French King's owning the Prince of Wales as King of England, is no sufficient ground of a War*, is one of the finest, because it is one of the most useful, tracts in the English language. After remarking *the universal cry of the people for war*, our Author declares he is not against war with France, provided it be on justifiable grounds; but, he hopes, England will never be so inconsiderable a nation, as to make use of dishonest pretences to bring to pass any of her designs: and he wishes that he who desires we should *end the war honourably*, ought to desire also, that we *begin it fairly*. "But if we must have a war," our Author hoped, "it might be wholly on the defensive in Flanders, in order to carry on hostilities in remote places, where the damage may be greater, by wounding the Spaniard in some weaker part; so as upon a peace he shall be glad to quit Flanders for an equivalent." Who at present does not wish that De Foe's argument had been more studiously read, and more efficaciously admitted?

A scene of sorrow soon after opened, which probably embittered our Author's future life. The death of King William deprived him of a protector, who, he says, trusted, esteemed, and much more valued him than he deserved; and who, as he flattered himself amidst his later distresses, would never have suffered him to be treated as he had been in the world. Of that monarch's memory, he says, that he never patiently heard it abused, nor ever could do so: and in this gratitude to a Royal benefactor there is surely much to praise, but nothing to blame.

In

In the midst of that furious contest of party, civil and religious, which ensued on the accession of Queen Anne, our Author was no unconcerned spectator. He reprinted his *Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters*, which had been published in 1697, with a dedication to Sir Humphrey Edwin, a Lord Mayor, who having carried the regalia to a conventicle, gave rise to some wit in *The Tale of a Tub*, and occasioned some clauses in an act of Parliament. De Foe now dedicated his *Enquiry* to John How, a dissenting minister, of whom Anthony Wood speaks well. Mr. How did not much care, says Calamy*, to enter upon an argument of that nature with one of so warm a temper as the author of that *Enquiry*, and contented himself with publishing some *Considerations on the Preface of an Enquiry concerning the occasional Conformity of Dissenters*. De Foe's pertinacity soon produced a reply. He out-laughs and out-talks Mr. How, who had provoked his antagonist's wrath by personal sarcasms, and who now thought it hard that the old should be shoved off the stage by the young. De Foe reprobates, with the unforbearance of the times, "this fast and loose game of religion;" for which he had never met with any considerable excuse but this, "that this is no conformity in point of religion, but done as a civil action." He soon after published another *Enquiry*, in order to shew, *that the Dissenters are no ways concerned in occasional conformity*. The controversy, which in those days occasioned such vehement contests between the two Houses of Parliament, is probably silenced for ever.

* Life of Mr. John How, p. 210.

“ During

“ During the first fury of high-flying,” says he, “ I fell a sacrifice for writing against the madness of that high party, and in the service of the Dissenters.” He alludes here to *The Shortest Way* ; which he published towards the end of the year 1702 ; and which is a piece of exquisite irony, though there are certainly passages in it that might have shewn considerate men how much the Author had been in jest. He complains how hard it was, *that this should not have been perceived by all the town, and that not one man can see it, either churchman or dissenter.* This is one of the strongest proofs, how much the minds of men were inflamed against each other, and how little the virtues of mutual forbearance and personal kindness existed amid the clamour of contradiction, which then shook the kingdom, and gave rise to some of the most remarkable events in our annals. The Commons shewed their zeal, however they may have studied their dignity, by prosecuting * several libelists.

During the previous twenty years of his life, De Foe had busied himself unconsciously in charging a mine, which now blew himself and his family into air. He had fought for Monmouth ; he had opposed King James ; he had vindicated *The Revolution* ; he had panegyricized King William ; he had defended the rights of the collective body of the

* On the 25th of February 1702--3, a complaint was made in the House of Commons of a book entitled *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters* : and the folios 11---18 and 26 being read, *Resolved*, That this book, being full of false and scandalous reflections on this Parliament, and tending to promote sedition, be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, to-morrow, in New Palace-Yard. 14 Journ. p. 207.

people; he had displeased *the Treasurer* and *the General*, by objecting to the Flanders war; he had bantered Sir Edward Seymour, and Sir Christopher Musgrave, the Tory-leaders of the Commons; he had just ridiculed all the high-flyers in the kingdom: and he was at length obliged to seek for shelter from the indignation of persons and parties, thus overpowering and resistless.

A proclamation was issued in January, 1702—3*, offering a reward of fifty pounds for discovering his retreat. De Foe was described by the Gazette—“as a middle-sized spare man, about forty years old, of a brown complexion, and dark-brown hair, though he wears a wig, having a hook nose, a sharp chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth.”

He soon published *An Explanation*; though he “wonders to find there should be any occasion for it.” “But since ignorance,” says he, “has led

* He who is desirous of reading the proclamation, may be gratified by the following copy from the London Gazette, No. 3879.

St. James's, Jan. 10, 1702-3.

Whereas Daniel De Foe, *alias* De Fooe, is charged with writing a scandalous and seditious pamphlet, entitled “The Shortest Way with the Dissenters:” he is a middle-sized spare man, about 40 years old, of a brown complexion, and dark-brown coloured hair, but wears a wig, a hooked nose, a sharp chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth; was born in London, and for many years was a hose-factor, in Freeman's-yard, in Cornhill, and now is owner of the brick and pantile works near Tilbury-fort in Essex: whoever shall discover the said Daniel De Foe, to one of her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, or any of her Majesty's Justices of Peace, so as he may be apprehended, shall have a reward of £50, which her Majesty has ordered immediately to be paid upon such discovery.

most men to a censure of the book, and some people are like to come under the displeasure of the Government for it; in justice to those who are in danger to suffer by it; in submission to the Parliament and Council who may be offended at it; and courtesy to all mistaken people, who, it seems, have not penetrated into the real design; the Author presents the world with the genuine meaning of the paper, which he hopes may allay the anger of Government, or at least satisfy the minds of such as imagine a design to inflame and divide us." Neither his submissiveness to the ruling powers, nor his generosity to his printers, was a sufficient shield from the resentment of his enemies. He was found guilty of a libel, sentenced to the pillory, and adjudged to be fined and imprisoned. Thus, as he acknowledges, was he a second time ruined; and by this affair, as he asserts, he lost above £3,500 sterling, which consisted probably in *his brick works* and in the more abundant product of his pen.

When, by these means, immured in *Newgate*, our Author consoled himself with the animating reflection, that having meant well he unjustly suffered. He had a mind too active to be idle in the solitude of a prison which is seldom invaded by visitors. And he wrote a hymn to the pillory, that—

Hieroglyphick state machin,
Contrived to punish fancy in.

In this ode the reader will find satire, pointed by his sufferings; generous sentiments, arising from his situation; and an unexpected flow of easy verse. For example:

The

The first intent of laws
Was to correct the effect, and check the cause.
And all the ends of punishment
Were only future mischiefs to prevent :
But justice is inverted, when
Those engines of the law,
Instead of pinching vicious men,
Keep honest ones in awe.

He employed this involuntary leisure in correcting for the press a collection of his writings, which, *with several things he had no hand in*, had been already published by a piratical printer. He thought it a most unaccountable boldness in him to print that particular book called *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, while he lay under the public resentment for the same fact. In this collection of 1703, there are one-and-twenty treatises in poetry and prose, beginning with *The True-born Englishman*, and ending with *The Shortest Way to Peace and Union*. To this volume there was prefixed the first print of De Foe; to which was afterwards added, the apt inscription: *Laudatur et alget*.

In the solitariness of a goal, the energy of De Foe projected *The Review*. This is a periodical paper in quarto, which was first published on the 19th of February, 1703—4; and which was intended to treat of news, foreign and domestic; of politics, British and European; of trade, particular and universal. But our Author foresaw, from *the natural aversion of the age to any tedious affair*, that however profitable, the world would never read, if it were not diverting. With this design, both instructive and amusing, he skilfully institutes *a Scandal Club*,

which discusses questions in divinity, morals, war, trade, language, poetry, love, marriage, drunkenness, and gaming. Thus, it is easy to see, that *The Review* pointed the way to the *Tatlers*, *Spectators*, and *Guardians*, which may be allowed however to have treated those interesting topics with more delicacy of humour, more terseness of style, and greater depth of learning: yet, has De Foe many passages, both of prose and poetry, which, for refinement of wit, neatness of expression, and efficacy of moral, would do honour to Steele or to Addison. Of all this was Johnson unconscious, when he speaks of the *Tatlers* and *Spectators* as the first English writers who had undertaken to reform either the savageness of neglect, or the impertinence of civility; to shew when to speak, or to be silent; how to refuse, or how to comply.

In the midst of these labours our Author published, in July 1704, *The Storm*; or, a collection of the most remarkable casualties, which happened in the tempest, on the 23d of November, 1703. In explaining *the natural causes of winds* De Foe shews more science, and in delivering *the opinions of the ancients that this island was more subject to storms than other parts of the world*, he displays more literature, than he has been generally supposed to possess. Our Author is moreover entitled to yet higher praise. He seized that awful occasion to inculcate the fundamental truths of religion; the being of a God, the superintendency of Providence, the certainty of heaven and hell, the one to reward, the other to punish.

While, as he tells himself, he lay friendless in the prison of Newgate, his family ruined, and himself

himself without hopes of deliverance, a message was brought him from a person of honour, whom till that time he had not the least knowledge of. This was no less a person than Sir Robert Harley, the Speaker of the House of Commons. Harley approved probably of the principles and conduct of De Foe, and doubtless foresaw, that, during a factious age, such a genius could be converted to many uses. And he sent a verbal message to the prisoner, desiring *to know what he could do for him*. Our Author readily wrote the story of the blind man in the Gospel; concluding—*Lord, that I may receive my sight*.

When the high-flyers were driven from the station which enabled them to inflame rather than conciliate, Harley became Secretary of State, in April 1704. He had now frequent opportunities of representing the unmerited sufferings of De Foe to the *Queen* and to the *Treasurer*; yet, our Author continued four months longer in goal. The Queen, however, inquired into his circumstances; and Lord Godolphin sent, as he thankfully acknowledges, a considerable sum to his wife, and to him money to pay his fine and the expence of his discharge. Here is the foundation, says he, on which he built his first sense of duty to the Queen, and the indelible bond of gratitude to his *first benefactor*. “Let any one say, then,” he asks, “what I could have done, less or more, than I have done for such a Queen and such a benefactor?” All this he manfully avowed to the world *, when Queen Anne lay lifeless and cold as King William, his first patron; and when Oxford,

* By his Appeal in 1715.

in the vicissitude of party, had been persecuted by faction, and overpowered, though not conquered, by violence.

Such was the high interposition by which De Foe was relieved from Newgate, in August 1704. In order to avoid the town-talk, he retired immediately to St. Edmund's Bury: but his retreat did not prevent persecution. Dyer, the news-writer, propagated that De Foe had fled from justice. Fox, the bookseller, published that he had deserted his security. Stephen, a state-messenger, every where said, that he had a warrant for seizing him. This I suppose was wit, during the witty age of Anne. In our duller days of law, such outrages would be referred to the judgment of a Jury. De Foe informed the Secretary of State where he was, and when he would appear; but he was told not to fear, as he had not transgressed. Notwithstanding this vexation, our Author's muse produced, on the 29th of August 1704, *A Hymn to Victory*, when the successful skill of Marlborough furnished our poets with many occasions to publish *Gazettes in Rhyme*.

De Foe opened the year 1704—5 with his *Double welcome to the Duke of Marlborough*; disclaiming any expectation of place or pension. His encomiastic strains, I fear, were not heard while he wrote, like an honest Englishman, against the continuance of the war—a war indeed of personal glory, of national celebration, but of fruitless expence. De Foe's activity, or his needs, produced in March 1705, *The Consolidator*; or, *Memoirs of Sundry Transactions, from the world in the moon*. It was one of De Foe's felicities to *catch the living manners*

as they rose, or one of his resources, to shoot folly as it flew. In the *lunar language* he applies his satiric file to the prominences of every character: of the poets, from Dryden to Durfy; of the wits, from Addison to Prior; of the metaphysicians, from Malbranche to Hobbs; of the free-thinkers, from Afigyl to the Tale of a Tub. Our author continually complains of the ill usage of the world; but with all his acuteness he did not advert, that he who attacks the world, will be by the world attacked. He makes the lunar politicians debate the policy of Charles XII. in pursuing the Saxons and Poles, while the Muscovites ravaged his own people. I doubt whether it were on this occasion that the Swedish Ambassador was so ill-advised as to complain against De Foe, for merited ridicule of a futile warfare. They had not then discovered, that the best defence against the shafts of satire is to let them fly. Our Author's sentiment was expanded by Johnson, in those energetic lines, which thus conclude the character of the *Swedish Charles* ;

“ Who left the name, at which the world grew pale,
 “ To point a moral, or adorn a tale.”

De Foe was so little disturbed by the appearance of *The Moon Calf*, or accurate reflections on the Consolidator, that he plunged into a controversy with Sir Humphrey Mackworth about his bill *for employing the poor*. This had been passed by the Commons, with great applause, but received by the Peers with suitable caution. De Foe, considering this *plausible project* as an *indigested chaos*, represented it, through several reviews, as a plan which would

ruin the industrious, and thereby augment the poor. Sir Humphrey endeavoured to support his work-houses, in every parish, with a parochial capital for carrying on parochial manufacture. This drew from De Foe his admirable treatise, which he entitled *Giving alms no charity*. As an *English Freeholder* he claimed it as a right to address his performance to the House of Commons, having a particular interest in the common good; but, considering the persons before whom he appeared, he laid down his archness, and assumed his dignity. He maintained, with wonderful knowledge of fact and power of argument, the following positions: 1st, That there is in England more labour than hands to perform it; and consequently a want of people, not of employment:—2dly, No man in England, of sound limbs and senses, can be poor merely for want of work:—3dly, All workhouses for employing the poor, as now they are employed, serve to the ruin of families and the increase of the poor:—4thly, It is a regulation of the poor that is wanted, not a setting them to work. Longer experience shews this to be a difficult subject, which increases in difficulty with the effluxion of time.

De Foe had scarcely dismissed Sir Humphrey, when he introduced Lord Haverham, a peer, who is famous in our story, as a maker and publisher of speeches. His Lordship published his speech on the state of the nation in 1705, which was cried about the town with unusual earnestness. Our Author's prudence induced him to give no answer to the speech; but a pamphlet, which was hawked about the streets and sold for a penny, our Author's shrewdness considered as *a challenge to every reader*.
He

He laughed and talked so much, through several Reviews, about this factious effusion, as to provoke a defence of topics, which his Lordship ought neither to have printed nor spoken. De Foe now published a *Reply to Lord Haversham's vindication of his Speech*. During such battles the town never fails to cheer the smaller combatant. Our Author, with an allusion to the biography of both, says sarcastically: "But, fate that makes footballs of men, kicks some up stairs, and some down; some are *advanced without honour*, others *suppressed without infamy*; some are *raised without merit*, some are *crushed without a crime*; and no man knows by the beginning of things, whether his course shall issue in a *peerage* or a *pillory*."

In the midst of these disputes, either grave or ludicrous, De Foe published *Advice to all Parties*. He strenuously recommends that moderation and forbearance, which his opponents often remarked he was not so prone to practice as to preach. While he thus gave advice to all parties, he conveyed many salutary lessons to the Dissenters, whom he was zealous to defend. In the Review, dated the 25th of December 1705, he conjures them for God's sake, if not for their own sake, to be content. "Are there a few things more you could wish were done for you? resolve these wishes into two conclusions: 1st, Wait till Providence, if it shall be for your good, shall bring them to pass; 2dly, Compare the present with the past circumstances, and you cannot repine without the highest ingratitude both to God and man."

De Foe found leisure, notwithstanding all those labours, perhaps a necessity, to publish in 1705, *A Second Volume of the Writings of the Author of the True-born*

barn Englishman. The same reasons which formerly induced him to *collect some loose pieces*, held good, says he, for proceeding to a second volume, “that if I do not, somebody else will do it for me.” He laments the scandalous liberty of the press; whereby piratic printers deprive an author of the native product of his own thought, and the purity of his own style. It is said, though perhaps without authority, that the vigorous remonstrances of De Foe procured *The* Act for the encouragement of learning, by vesting the copies of printed books in the authors or their assigns.* The vanity of an administration, which affected to patronize the learned, concurring with the mutual interest of bookmakers and booksellers, produced this salutary law, that our Author alone had called for without success. De Foe’s writings, thus collected into volumes, were soon a third time printed, with the addition of *a key*. The satire being now pointed by the specification of characters, and obscurities being illuminated by the annexation of circumstances, a numerous class of readers were induced, by their zeal of party, or desire of scandal, to look for gratification from our Author’s treatises. He is studious to complain, *That his writings had been most neglected of them, who at the same time have owned them useful.* The second volume of 1705, containing eighteen *treatises* in prose and rhyme, begins with *A new Discovery of an old Intrigue*, and ends with *Royal Religion*.

The year 1705 was a year of disquiet to De Foe, not so much from the oppressions of state as from the persecutions of party. When his business, of

* 9 Anne, c. 19.

whatever nature, led him to Exeter, and other western towns, in August, September, and October, 1705, a project was formed to send him as a soldier to the army, at a time when footmen were taken from the coaches as recruits: but conscious of his being a Freeholder of England, and a Liveryman of London, he knew that such characters could not be violated, in this nation, with impunity. When some of the Western Justices, of more zeal of party than sense of duty, heard from his opponents of De Foe's journey, they determined to apprehend him as a vagabond: but our Author, who, among other qualities, had personal courage in a high degree, reflected, that to face danger is most effectually to prevent it. In his absence, real suits were commenced against him for fictitious debts: but De Foe advertised, that genuine claims he would fairly satisfy. If all these uncommon circumstances had not been published in *The Review*, we should not have seen this striking picture of savage manners. So much more free are we at present, that the Editor of a newspaper, however obnoxious to any party, may travel peaceably about his affairs over England, without fear of interruption. Were a Justice of Peace, from whatever motive, to offer him any obstruction, such a magistrate would be overwhelmed by the public indignation, and punished by the higher guardians of our quiet and our laws.

De Foe began the year 1706 with *A Hymn to Peace* *; occasioned by the two Houses of Parliament joining in one address to the Queen. On the 4th of May he published *An Essay at removing*

* Published the 10th of January, 1705-6.

National Prejudices against an Union with Scotland. A few weeks after he gave the world a second essay, to soften rancour and defeat perversity. But the time was now come, when he was to perform what he had often promised: and his fruitfulness produced in July 1706, *Jure Divino*, a satire against tyranny and passive obedience, which had been delayed, *for fear*, as he declares, of *parliamentary censure*. Of this poem, it cannot be said, as of Thomson's *Liberty*, that *it was written to prove what no man ever denied*. This satire, says the preface, had never been published, though some of it has been a long time in being, had not the world seemed to be going mad a second time with the *error of passive obedience*, and *non-resistance*. And because some men require, says he, more explicit answers, I declare my belief, that a monarchy, according to the present constitution, limited by Parliament, and *dependent upon law*, is not only the best government in the world, but also the best for this nation in particular, most suitable to the *genius of the people*, and *the circumstances of the whole body*. Dryden had given an example, a few years before, of argumentative poetry in his *Hind and Panther*; by which he endeavoured to defend the tenets of the Church of Rome. Our author now reasoned in rhyme, through *twelve books*, in defence of *every man's birth-right by nature*, when all sorts of liberty were run down and opposed. His purpose is doubtless honest than Dryden's; and his argument, being in support of *the better cause*, is perhaps superior in strength: but in the *Jure Divino* we look in vain for

The varying verse, the full-resounding line,
The long majestic march, and energy divine.

Our

Our author was soon after engaged in more important, because much more useful, business. Lord Godolphin, who knew how to discriminate characters, determined to employ him on an errand, which, as he says, was far from being unfit for a Sovereign to direct, or an honest man to perform. By his Lordship he was carried to the Queen, who said to him, while he kissed her hand*, *that she had such satisfaction in his former services, that she had again appointed him for another affair, which was something nice, but the treasurer would tell him the rest.* In three days he was sent to Scotland. His knowledge of commerce and revenue, his powers of insinuation, and above all his readiness of pen, were deemed of no small utility in promoting *the Union*. He arrived at Edinburgh, in October 1706. And we shall find him no inconsiderable actor in the performance of that greatest of all good works. He attended the committees of Parliament, for whose use he made several of the calculations † on the subject of trade and taxes. He complains ‡, however, that when afterwards some clamour was raised upon the inequality of the proportions, and the contrivers began to be blamed, and a little threatened *a-la-mob*, then it was D. F. § made it all, and he was to be stoned for it. He endeavoured to confute || all that

* Appeal, p. 16.

† See his History of the Union, p. 401. ‡ Ibid. p. 379.

§ Daniel Foe. He had two names through life; and even when letters of administration were granted on his personal estate, some time after his death, *De Foe* is added with an *otherwise*. We might thence infer, that his father's name was *Foe*, if we had not now better evidence of *the fact*.

|| Ibid. 223.

was published by Webster, and Hodges, and the other writers in Scotland against the Union: and he had his share of danger, since, as he says, he was watched by the mob; had his chamber windows insulted; but, by the prudence of his friends, and God's providence, he escaped *. In the midst of this great scene of business and tumult, he collected the documents, which he afterwards published for the instruction of posterity, with regard to one of the most difficult, and, at the same time, the most fortunate, transactions, in our annals.

During all those labours and risks, De Foe published, in December 1706, *Caledonia*, a Poem, in honour of the Scots nation. This poetic essay, which was intended to rescue Scotland from *slander in opinion*, Caledonia herself bade him dedicate to the Duke of Queensberry. Beside other benefactions, the Commissioner gave the author, whom he calls Daniel De Foe, *Esquire*, an exclusive privilege to sell his encomiastic strains for seven years, within the country of his celebration. Amidst our Author's busy occupations at Edinburgh, he was anxious to assure the world, that wherever the writer may be, the Reviews are written with his own hand; no person having, or ever had, any concern in writing them, but the known author, D. F. On the 16th of January, the act of Union was passed by the Scots Parliament; and De Foe returned to London, in February 1706-7. While he thus acted importantly at Edinburgh, he formed con-

* History of the Union, p. 239.

nexions with considerable persons, who were proud of his future correspondence, and profited *from his political interests* *.

How our Author was rewarded by the ministers who derived a benefit from those services, and from that danger, as he does not tell, cannot now be known. Before his departure for Scotland, indeed, Lord Godolphin, as he acknowledges †, obtained for him the continuance of an appointment, which her Majesty, by the interposition of his first benefactor, had been pleased to make him, in consideration of a former service, in *a foreign country*, wherein he run as much risque as a grenadier on the counter-scarp. As he was too prudent to disclose his *secret services*, they must at present remain undiscovered. Yet is there reason to think that he had a *pension* rather than an *office*, since his name is not in the *red book* of the Queen; and he solemnly avers, in *his Appeal*, that he had not interest enough with Lord Oxford

* Lord Buchan was so obliging as to communicate the subjoined extract of a letter to his Lordship's grandfather, the Earl of Buchan, from De Foe, dated the 29th of May, 1711:—"The person, with whom *I endeavoured to plant the interest of your Lordship's friend*, has been strangely taken up, since I had that occasion; *viz.* first, in suffering the operation of the surgeons to heal the wound of the assassin; and since, in accumulating honours from Parliament, the Queen, and the people. On Thursday evening her Majesty created him Earl Mortimer, Earl of Oxford, and Lord Harley of Wigmore: and we expect that to-morrow in council he will have the white staff given him by the Queen, and be declared Lord High Treasurer. I wrote this yesterday; and this day, May the 29th, he is made Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain, and carried the white staff before the Queen this morning to chapel.

† Appeal, p. 16.

to procure him the arrears due to him in the time of the former Ministry. This appointment, whatever it were, he is studious to tell, he originally owed to Harley: he, however, thankfully acknowledges, that Lord Godolphin continued his favour to him after the unhappy breach that separated his first benefactor from the Minister, who continued in power till August 1710.

The nation, which was filled with combustible matter, burst into flame the moment of that memorable separation, in 1707. In the midst of this conflagration our Author was not inactive. He waited on Harley after he had been driven from power, who generously advised him *to continue his services to the Queen, which he supposed would have no relation to personal differences among statesmen.* Godolphin received him with equal kindness, by saying—*I always think a man honest till I find to the contrary.* And if we may credit De Foe's asseverations, in the presence of those who could have convicted him of falsehood, he *for three years held no correspondence with his principal benefactor, which the great man never took ill of him.*

As early as February 1706—7, De Foe avowed his purpose to publish the History of the Union, which he had ably assisted to accomplish. This design he executed in 1709, though he was engaged in other lucubrations, and gave the world a Review three times a week. His history seems to have been little noticed when it first appeared; for, as the preface states, it had many difficulties in the way; many factions to encounter, and parties to please. Yet it was republished in 1712; and a third time in 1786, when a similar union had become the topic
of

of public debate and private conversation. The subject of this work is the completion of a measure, which was carried into effect, notwithstanding obstructions apparently insurmountable, and tumults approaching to rebellion, and which has produced the ends designed, beyond expectation, whether we consider its influence on the Government, or its operation on the governed. The minuteness with which he describes what he saw and heard on the turbulent stage, where he acted a conspicuous part, is extremely interesting to us, who wish to know what actually passed, however this circumstantiality may have disgusted contemporaneous readers. History is chiefly valuable as it transmits a faithful copy of the *manners* and *sentiments* of every age. This narrative of De Foe is a drama, in which he introduces the highest peers and the lowest peasants, speaking and acting, according as they were each actuated by their characteristic passions; and while the man of taste is amused by his *manner*, the man of business may draw instruction from the *documents*, which are appended to the end, and interspersed in every page. This publication had alone preserved his name, had his *Cruoe* pleased us less.

De Foe published in 1709, what indeed required less effort of the intellect or the hand, *The History of Addresses*; with no design, he says, and as we may believe, to disturb the public peace, but to compare the present tempers of men with the past, in order to discover who had altered for the better, and who for the worse. He gave a second volume of *Addresses* in 1711, with remarks serious and comical. His purpose plainly was to abate, by ridicule, the public fervour with regard to Sacheverel, who, by

I know not what fatality, or folly, gave rise to eventful changes. De Foe evinces, by these timely publications, that amidst all that enthusiasm and tumult, he preserved his senses, and adhered to his principles.

When, by such imprudence as the world had never seen before, Godolphin was in his turn expelled, in August 1710, our Author waited on the ex-minister; who obligingly said to him, *That he had the same good-will, but not the same power to assist him*: and Godolphin told him, what was of more real use—*to receive the Queen's commands from her confidential servants, when he saw things settled*. It naturally occurred to De Foe, that it was his duty to go along with the Ministers, while, as he says, they did not break in on the constitution. And who can blame a very subordinate officer, (if indeed he held an office), who had a wife and six children to maintain with very precarious means? He was thus, says he, cast back providentially on his first benefactor, who laid his case before her Majesty, whereby he preserved his interest, without any engagement. On that memorable change De Foe however somewhat changed his tone. The method I shall take, says he*, in talking of the public affairs, shall for the future be, though with the same design to support truth, yet with more caution of embroiling myself with a party, who have no mercy, and who have no sense of service.

De Foe now lived at Newington, in comfortable circumstances, publishing *The Reviews*, and sending out such tracts, as either gratified his prejudices, or supplied his needs. During that contentious pe-

* Review, Vol. vii. No. 95.

riod he naturally gave and received many wounds ; and he prudently entered into a truce with Mr. J. Dyer, who was engaged in similar occupations, that, however they might clash in party, they may write without personal reflections, and thus differ still, and yet preserve the Christian and the gentleman*.

But

* The following letter to Mr. J. Dyer, in Shoe-lane, who was then employed by the leaders of the Tories, in circulating news and insinuations through the country, will shew the literary manners of those times, and convey some anecdotes, which are nowhere else preserved. The original letter is in the Museum, Harl. MSS. No. 7001. fol. 269.

Mr. Dyer,

I have your letter. I am rather glad to find you put it upon the trial who was aggressor, than justify a thing which I am sure you cannot approve ; and in this I assure you I am far from injuring you, and refer you to the time when long since you had wrote *I was fled from justice : one Sammon being taken up for printing a libel, and I being then on a journey*, nor the least charge against me for being concerned in it by any body but your letter : — also many unkind personal reflections on me in your letter, *when I was in Scotland, on the affair of the Union*, and I assure you, when my paper had not in the least mentioned you, and those I refer to time and date for the proof of.

I mention this only in defence of my last letter, in which I said no more of it than to let you see I did not merit such treatment, and could nevertheless be content to render any service to you, though I thought myself hardly used.

But to state the matter fairly between you and I, [me] *a writing for different interests*, and so possibly coming under an unavoidable necessity of jarring in several cases : I am ready to make a fair truce of honour with you, *viz.* that if what either party are doing, or saying, that may clash with the party we are for, and urge us to speak, it shall be done without naming either's name, and without personal reflections ; and thus we may differ still, and yet preserve both the Christian and the gentleman.

But between professed controvertists such a treaty could only be persevered in with Punic faith.

While thus occupied, De Foe was not forgotten by the City of Edinburgh with the usual ingratitude of public bodies. On the first of February 1710-11, that Corporation, remembering his *Caledonia*, empowered him to publish the *Edinburgh Courant*, in the room of Adam Booge*, though I suspect that he did not continue long to edify the Edinburgh citi-

This I think is an offer may satisfy you. I have not been desirous of giving just offence to you, neither would I to any man, however I may differ from him; and I see no reason why I should affront a man's person, because I do not join with him in principle. I please myself with being the first proposer of so fair a treaty with you, because I believe, as you cannot deny its being very honourable, so it is not less so in coming first from me, who I believe could convince you of my having been the first and most ill-treated—for further proof of which I refer you to your letters, *at the time I was threatened by the Envoy of the King of Sweden.*

However, Mr. Dyer, this is a method which may end what is past, and prevent what is future; and if refused, the future part I am sure cannot lye at my door.

As to your letter, your proposal is so agreeable to me, that truly without it I could not have taken the thing at all: for it would have been a trouble intolerable, both to you as well as me, to take your letter every post, first from you, and then send it to the post-house.

Your method of sending to the black box, is just what I designed to propose, and Mr. Shaw will doubtless take it of you: if you think it needful for me to speak to him it shall be done—What I want to know is only the charge, and that you will order it constantly to be sent, upon hinting whereof I shall send you the names. Wishing you success in all things (*Your opinions of Government excepted*) I am,

Your humble servant,

DE FOE.

Newington, June 17,
1710.

* Arnott's Edinburgh.

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zens by his weekly lucubrations. He had then much to think of, and much to do at a distance: and he soon after gave some support to Lord Oxford's South-sea project, by publishing *An Essay on the South-sea Trade*, with an inquiry into the reasons of the present complaint against the settlement of the South-sea Company. In the same year he published *An Essay at a plain Exposition of that difficult phrase* — A GOOD PEACE. He obviously intended to abate the national ardour for war, and to incite a national desire of quiet.

The Ministers, by the course of events, were engaged ere long in one of the hardest tasks which can be assigned to British statesmen—the re-establishment of tranquillity after a glorious war. The treaty at Utrecht furnishes a memorable example of this. The furious debates which ensued within the walls of Parliament and without, are sufficiently remembered. About this time, says Boyer, in May 1713, a paper, entitled *MERCATOR*, or Commerce Retrieved, was published on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays*. This was first fathered on Arthur Moore, assisted

* The first *Mercator* was published on the 26th of May, 1713; the last on the 20th of July 1714: and they were written by William Brown and his assistants, with great knowledge, great strength, and great sweetness, considering how much party then embittered every composition. The *British Merchant*, which opposed *The Mercator*, and which was compiled by Henry Martyn and his associates, has fewer facts, less argument, and more factiousness. It began on the 1st of August 1713, and ended the 27th of July, 1714. I have spoken of both from my own convictions, without regarding the declamations which have continued to pervert the public opinion from that epoch to the present times. De Foe was struck at in the third number of the *British Merchant*, and

assisted by Doctor D'Avenant; but the latter solemnly denied it: and it soon after appeared to be the production of Daniel De Foe, an ambidextrous hireling, who for this dirty work received a large weekly allowance from the Treasury. That he wrote in *the Mercator*, De Foe admits; but he expressly denies "that he either was *the Author* of it, had the property of it, the printing of it, the profit of it, or had the power to put any thing into it, if he would." And, by *his Appeal*, he affirms before God and the world, "that he never had any payment, or reward, for writing any part of it." Yet, that he was ready to defend those papers of the *Mercator* which were really his, if men would answer with arguments, rather than abuse; though not those things which he had never written, but for which he had received such usage. He adds, with the noble spirit of a true-born Englishman, "The press was open to me as well as to others; and how, or when I lost my *English liberty* of speaking my mind, I know not: neither how my speaking my opinions, *without fee or reward*, could authorise any one to call me villain, rascal, traitor, and such opprobrious names."

Of the imputed connexion with his *first benefactor*, Harley, during that memorable period, our Author speaks with equal firmness, at a moment when firm-

plainly mentioned in the fourth. Mr. Daniel Foe may change his name from *Review* to *Mercator*, from *Mercator* to any other title, yet still his singular genius shall be distinguished by his inimitable way of writing. Thus personal sarcasm was introduced to supply deficiency of facts, or weakness of reasoning. When Charles King republished *The British Merchant* in volumes, among various changes, he expunged, with other personalities, the name of De Foe.

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ness was necessary. “ I solemnly protest,” says he, by his *Appeal*, “ in the presence of Him who shall judge us all, that I have received no instructions, orders, or directions for writing any thing, or materials from Lord Oxford, since Lord Godolphin was Treasurer, or that I have ever shewn to Lord Oxford any thing I had written or printed.” He challenges the world to prove the contrary; and he affirms, that he always capitulated for liberty to speak, according to his own judgment of things. As to consideration, pension, or reward, he declares most solemnly that he had none, except his old appointment made him long before by Lord Godolphin. What is extremely probable we may easily credit, without such strong asseverations. However Lord Oxford may have been gratified by the voluntary writings of De Foe, he had doubtless other persons who shared his confidence, and wrote his *Examiners* *.

But De Foe published that, which by no means promoted Lord Oxford’s views, and which, therefore, gained little of his favour. Our Author wrote

* It is now sufficiently known, *That Lord Oxford had relinquished the Treaty of Commerce to its fate, before it was finally debated in Parliament.* See much curious matter on this subject in Macpherson’s State Papers, vol. ii. p. 421-23. It is there said, that he gave up the commercial treaty, in compliment to Sir Thomas Hanmer, as he would by no means be an occasion of a breach among friends. The Treasurer had other reasons: The treaty had been made by Bolingbroke, whom he did not love; the Lords Anglesea and Abingdon had made extravagant demands for their support; and, like a wise man, he thought it idle to drive a nail that would not go. Yet Lord Halifax boasted to the Hanoverian minister, *That he alone had been the occasion of the treaty being rejected.* Same papers, p. 509-47.

against the peace of Utrecht, because he approved of it as little as he had done the treaty at Gertruydenburgh, under very different influences, a few years before. The peace *he* was for, as he himself says, was such as should neither have given the Spanish monarchy to the House of Bourbon, nor to the House of Austria; but that this bone of contention should have been so broken to pieces, as that it should not have been dangerous to Europe; and that England and Holland should have so strengthened themselves, by sharing its commerce, as should have made them no more afraid of France, or the Emperor; and that all that we should conquer in the Spanish West Indies should be our own. But it is equally true, he affirms, that when the peace was established, “I thought our business was to make the best of it; and rather to inquire what improvements could be made of it, than to be continually exclaiming against those who procured it.”

He manfully avowed his opinion in 1715, when it was both disgraceful and dangerous, that the 9th article of the Treaty of Commerce was calculated for the advantage of our trade; “Let who will make it, that,” says he, “is nothing to me. My reasons are, because it tied up the French to open the door to our manufactures, at a certain duty of importation *there*, and left the Parliament of Britain at liberty to shut their’s out, by as high duties as they pleased *here*, there being no limitation upon us, as to duties on French goods, but that other nations should pay the same. While the French were thus bound, and the British free, I always thought we must be in a condition to trade to advantage, or it must be our own fault: this was my opinion, and is so *still*; and
I would

I would engage to maintain it against any man, on a public stage, before a jury of fifty merchants, and venture my life upon the cause, if I were assured of fair play in the dispute. But, that it was my opinion, we might carry on a trade with France to our great advantage, and that we ought for that reason to trade with them, appears in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes of *The Reviews*, above nine years before *The Mercator* was thought of." Experience has decided in favour of De Foe against his opponents, with regard both to the theory and the practice of commerce.

In May 1713, our Author relinquished the *Review*, after nine years continuance: in Newgate it began, and in Newgate it ended. Whether we consider the frequency of the publication, or the power of his disquisitions, the pertinacity of his opponents, or the address of his defences, amid other studies, without assistants, this must be allowed to be such a work, as few of our writers have equalled. Yet, of this great performance, said Gay, "The poor *Review* is quite exhausted, and grown so very contemptible, that though he has provoked all his brothers of the quill, none will enter into a controversy with him. The fellow, who had excellent natural parts, but wanted a small foundation of learning, is a lively instance of those wits, who, as an ingenious author says, will endure but one skimming *." Poor Gay had learned this cant in the Scriblerus Club, who thought themselves the wisest, the wittiest, and virtuouslest men, that ever were, or

* State of Wit, 1711, which is re-printed in the Supplement to Swift's Works.

ever would be. But of all their works, which of them have been so often skimmed, or yielded such cream, as *Robinson Crusoe*, the *Family Instructor*, or *Religious Courtship*? Some of their writings may indeed be allowed to have uncommon merit; yet, let them not arrogate exclusive excellence, or claim appropriate praise.

When De Foe relinquished the *Review*, he began to write *A General History of Trade*, which he proposed to publish in monthly numbers. The first number appeared on the first of August 1713. His great design was to shew the reader, “*What the whole world is at this time employed in as to Trade.*” But his more immediate end was, to rectify the mistake we are fallen into as to Commerce, and to inform those who are willing to inquire into the truth. In the execution of this arduous undertaking, he avows his intention of speaking what reason dictates and fact justifies, however he may clash with the popular opinions of some people in trade. He could not however wholly abstract himself from the passing scene. When his second number appeared, on the 15th of August 1713, he gave a discourse on the harbour of Dunkirk; wherein he insists, that the port ought to be destroyed, if it must remain with France; but, if it were added to England, or made a free-port, it would be for the good of mankind to have a safe harbour in such dangerous seas. This History of Trade, which exhibits the ingenuity, the strength, and the piety of De Foe, extended only to two numbers. The agitations of the times carried him to other literary pursuits; and the factiousness of the times constrained him to attend to personal security.

“ While

“ While I spoke of things thus,” says our Author, “ I bore infinite reproaches, as the defender of the peace, by pamphlets, which I had no hand in.” He appears to have been silenced by noise, obloquy, and insult; and finding himself in this manner treated, he declined writing at all, as he assures us; and for great part of a year never set pen to paper, except in *The Reviews*. “ *After this,*” continues he, “ *I was a long time absent in the north of England,*” though we may easily infer, for a very different reason than that of the famous retirement of Swift, upon the final breach between Oxford and Bolingbroke.

The place of his retreat is now known to have been Halifax, or the borders of Lancashire*. And observing here, as he himself relates, the insolence of the Jacobite party, and how they insinuated the Pretender’s rights into the common people, “ I set pen to paper again, by writing *A seasonable Caution*; and, to open the eyes of the poor ignorant country people, I gave away this all over the kingdom, as gain was not intended.” With the same laudable purpose he wrote three other pamphlets; the first, *What if the Pretender should come?* the second, *Reasons*

* The late History of Halifax relates, That Daniel De Foe, being forced to abscond, on account of his political writings, resided at Halifax, in the Back-lane, at the sign of the Rose and Crown, being known to Doctor Nettleton, the physician, and the Rev. Mr. Priestley, minister of a dissenting congregation there. Mr. Watson is mistaken when he supposes that De Foe wrote his *Jure Divino* here, which had been published previously in 1706; and he is equally mistaken, when he says, that De Foe had made an improper use of the papers of Selkirk, whose story had been often published.

against the Succession of the House of Hanover; the third, *What if the Queen should die?* “Nothing could be more plain,” says he, “than that the titles of these were *amusements* *, in order to put the books into the hands of those people, who had been deluded by the Jacobites.” These petty volumes were so much approved by the zealous friends of the Protestant succession, that they were diligent to disperse them through the most distant counties. And De Foe protests, that had the Elector of Hanover given him a thousand pounds, he could not have served him more effectually, than by writing these three treatises.

The reader will learn, with surprise and indignation, that for these writings De Foe was arrested, obliged to give *eight hundred* pounds bail, contrary to the Bill of Rights, and prosecuted by information, during Trinity term 1713. This groundless prosecution was instituted by the absurd zeal of William Benson, who afterwards became ridiculously famous for literary exploits, which justly raised him to the honours of the *Dunciad*. Our Author attributes this prosecution to the malice of his enemies, who were numerous and powerful. *No inconsiderable people* were heard to say, that they knew the books were against the Pretender, but that De Foe had disobliged them in other things, and they resolved to take this advantage to punish him. This story is the more credible, as he had procured

* The pamphlets mentioned in the text were filled with palpable banter. He recommends the Pretender by saying, That *the Prince would confer on every one the privilege of wearing wooden shoes*, and at the same time ease the nobility and gentry of the hazard and expence of winter journies to Parliament.

evidence to prove *the fact*, had the trial proceeded. He was prompted by consciousness of innocence *to defend himself in the Review* during the prosecution, which offended the Judges, who, being somewhat infected with the violent spirit of the times, committed him to Newgate in Easter term 1713. He was however soon released on making a proper submission. But it was happy for De Foe that his *first benefactor* was still in power, who procured him the Queen's pardon, in November* 1713. This act of liberal justice was produced by the party-writers† of those *black and bitter* days, as an additional proof of Lord Oxford's attachment to the abdicated family, while De Foe was said to be convicted of absolute Jacobitism, contrary to the tenor of his life, and the purpose of his writings. He himself said sarcastically, that they might as well have made him a *Mahometan*. On his tomb-stone it might have been engraved, that he was the only Englishman who had been obliged to ask a royal pardon, for writing in favour of the Hanover succession.

“ By this time, says Boyer, in October 1714, the treasonable design to bring in the Pretender was manifested to the world by the agent of one of the late managers, De Foe, in his *History of the White Staff*. The Detection of the *Secret History of the White Staff*, which was soon published, confidently tells, that it was written by De Foe; as is to be seen by his abundance of words, his false thoughts, and *his false English* ‡.” We now know that there was at

* The pardon is dated on the 13th of November, 1713, and is signed by Bolingbroke. † See Boyer's Political State, Oldmixon's History, &c.

‡ It is universally said by the sellers and buyers of old books, that John, Duke of Argyle, was the real author of *The Secret History of*

at that epoch, no plot in favour of the Pretender, except in the assertions of those who wished to promote their interest by exhibiting their zeal. And I have shewn, that De Foe had done more to keep out the Pretender, than the political tribe, who profited from his zeal, yet detracted from his fame.

“No sooner was the Queen dead,” says he, “and the King, as right required, proclaimed, but the rage of men increased upon me to that degree, that their threats were such as I am unable to express. Though I have written nothing since the Queen’s death; yet, a great many things are called by my name, and I bear the answerers insults. I have not seen or spoken with the Earl of Oxford,” continues he, “since the King’s landing, but once; yet, he bears the reproach of my writing for him, and I the rage of men for doing it.” De Foe appears indeed to have been, at that noisy period, stunned by factious clamour, and overborne, though not silenced, by unmerited obloquy. He probably lost his original appointment, when his first benefactor was finally expelled. Instead of meeting with reward for his zealous services in support of the Protestant succession, he was on the accession of George I. discountenanced by those who had derived a benefit from his active exertions. And of Addison, who was now exalted into office, and enjoyed literary patronage, our

of the White Staff. His Grace, indeed, is not in the *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors*. Whether the Duke wrote this petty pamphlet may be doubted; but there can be no doubt that De Foe was not the Author: For, he solemnly asserts by *his Appeal* in 1715, *That he had written nothing since the Queen’s death*. The internal evidence is stronger than this positive assertion.

Author

Author had said in his *Double Welcome to the Duke of Marlborough*, with less poetry than truth—

Mæcenæ has his modern fancy strung,
And fixed his pension first, or he had never sung.

While thus insulted by enemies, and discountenanced by power, De Foe published his *Appeal to Honour and Justice*, in 1715; being a true Account of his Conduct in public Affairs. As a motive for this intrepid measure, he affectingly says, That, “by the hints of mortality and the infirmities of a life of sorrow and fatigue, I have reason to think, that I am very near to the great ocean of eternity, and the time may not be long ere I embark on the last voyage: wherefore, I think I should even accounts with this world before I go, that no slanders may lye against my heirs, to disturb them in the peaceable possession of their father’s inheritance, his character.” It is a circumstance perhaps unexampled in the life of any other writer, that before he could finish his Appeal, he was struck with an apoplexy. After languishing more than six weeks, neither able to go on, nor likely to recover, his friends thought fit to delay the publication no longer. “It is the opinion of most who know him,” says Baker, the publisher, “that the treatment which he here complains of, and others of which he would have spoken, have been the cause of this disaster.” When the ardent mind of De Foe reflected on what he had done, and what he had suffered, how he had been rewarded and persecuted, his heart melted in despair. His spirit, like a candle struggling in the socket, blazed and sunk, and blazed and sunk, till it disappeared in darkness.

While

While his strength remained, he expostulated with his adversaries in the following terms of great manliness, and instructive intelligence:—"It has been the disaster of all parties in this nation, to be very hot in their turn, and as often as they have been so, I have differed with them all, and shall do so. I will repeat some of the occasions on the Whig side, because from that quarter the accusation of my turning about comes.

"*The first time* I had the misfortune to differ with my friends, was about the year 1683, when the Turks were besieging Vienna, and the Whigs in England, generally speaking, were for the Turks taking it; which I, having read the history of the cruelty and perfidious dealings of the Turks in their wars, and how they had rooted out the name of the Christian religion in above three score and ten kingdoms, could by no means agree with: and though then but a young man, and a younger author, I opposed it, and wrote against it, which was taken very unkindly indeed.

"*The next time* I differed with my friends, was when King James was wheedling the Dissenters to take off the penal laws and test, which I could by no means come into. I told the Dissenters, I had rather the Church of England should pull our clothes off by fines and forfeitures, than the Papists should fall both upon the Church and the Dissenters, and pull our skins off by fire and faggot.

"*The next difference* I had with good men, was about the scandalous practice of occasional conformity, in which I had the misfortune to make many honest men angry, rather because I had the better of the argument, than because they disliked what I said.

And,

“ And now I have lived to see the Dissenters themselves very quiet ; if not very well pleased with an act of Parliament to prevent it. Their friends indeed laid it on ; they would be friends indeed, if they would talk of taking it off again.

“ *Again*, I had a breach with honest men for their male-treating King William, of which I say nothing ; because I think they are now opening their eyes, and making what amends they can to his memory.

“ *The fifth difference* I had with them, was about the treaty of partition, in which many honest men were mistaken, and in which I told them plainly then, that they would at last end the war upon worse terms ; and so it is my opinion they would have done, though the treaty of Gertruydenburgh had taken place.

“ *The sixth time* I differed with them, was when the old Whigs fell out with the modern Whigs ; and when the Duke of Marlborough and my Lord Godolphin were used by the Observator in a manner worse, I confess, for the time it lasted, than ever they were used since ; nay, though it were by Abel and the Examiner. But the success failed. In this dispute my Lord Godolphin did me the honour to tell me, I had served him and his Grace also, both faithfully and successfully. But his Lordship is dead, and I have now no testimony of it, but what is to be found in the Observator, where I am plentifully abused for being an enemy to my country, by acting in the interest of my Lord Godolphin and the Duke of Marlborough. What weathercock can turn with such tempers as these ?

“ *I am now in the seventh breach with them*, and my crime now is, that I will not believe and say the

same things of the Queen, and the late Treasurer, which I could not believe before of my Lord Godolphin and the Duke of Marlborough, and which in truth I cannot believe, and therefore could not say it of either of them; and which, if I had believed, yet I ought not to have been the man that should have said it, for the reasons aforesaid.

“ In such turns of tempers and times a man must have been ten-fold a Vicar of Bray, or it is impossible but he must one time or other be out with every body. This is my present condition; and for this I am reviled with having abandoned my principles, turned Jacobite, and what not: God judge between me and these men! Would they come to any particulars with me, what real guilt I may have, I would freely acknowledge; and if they would produce any evidence of the bribes, the pensions, and the rewards I have taken, I would declare honestly whether they were true or no. If they would give a list of the books which they charge me with, and the reasons why they lay them at my door, I would acknowledge any mistake, own what I have done, and let them know what I have not done. But these men neither shew mercy, nor leave room for repentance; in which they act not only unlike their Maker, but contrary to his express commands*.”

With

* The most solemn asseverations, and the most unanswerable arguments of our Author, were not, after all, believed. When Charles King re-published *The British Merchant*, in 1721, he without a scruple attributed *The Mercator* to a hireling writer of a weekly paper called *The Review*. And Anderson, at a still later period, goes further in his *Chronology of Commerce*, and names De Foe, as *the hireling* writer of *The Mercator*, and other papers in favour of the French treaty of trade. We can now judge
with

With the same independence of spirit, but with greater modesty of manner, our Author openly disapproved of the intemperance, which was adopted by Government in 1714, contrary to the original purpose of George I. “It is and ever was my opinion,” says De Foe in *his Appeal*, “that moderation is the only virtue by which the tranquillity of this nation can be preserved; and even the King himself, (I believe his Majesty will allow me that freedom,) can only be happy in the enjoyment of the crown, by a moderate administration: if he should be obliged, contrary to his known disposition, to join with intemperate councils, if it does not lessen his security, I am persuaded it will lessen his satisfaction. To attain at the happy calm, which is the consideration that should move us all, (and he would merit to be called the nation’s physician, who could prescribe the specific for it,) I think I may be allowed to say, *a conquest of parties will never do it, a balance of parties may.*” Such was the political testament of De Foe; which it had been happy for Britain, had it been as faithfully executed as it was wisely made!

The year 1715 may be regarded as the period of our Author’s political life. Faction henceforth found other advocates, and parties procured other writers to propagate their falsehoods. Yet, when a

with the impartiality of arbitrators: on the one hand, there are the living challenge, and the death-bed declaration of De Foe; on the other, the mere surmise and unauthorized assertion of King, Anderson, and others, who detract from their own veracity by their own factiousness, or foolery. It is surely time to free ourselves from prejudices of every kind, and to disregard the sound of names as much as the falsehoods of party.

cry was raised against foreigners, on the accession of George I. *The True-born Englishman* was revived, rather by Roberts the bookseller, than by De Foe the Author*. But the persecutions of party did not cease when De Foe ceased to be a party-writer. He was insulted by Boyer, in April 1716, as the author of *The Triennial Act impartially stated*: “but, whatever was offered,” says Boyer, “against the Septennial Bill, was fully confuted by the ingenious and judicious Joseph Addison, Esquire.” Whether De Foe wrote in defence of the people’s rights, or in support of the law’s authority, he is to be censured: whether Addison defended the Septennial Bill, or the Peerage Bill, he is to be praised. With the same misconception of the fact, and malignancy of spirit, Tolland reviled† De Foe for writing an answer to *The State Anatomy*, in 1717. The time however will at last come, when the world will judge of men from their actions rather than pretensions.

The death of Anne, and the accession of George I. seem to have convinced De Foe of the vanity of party-writing. And from this eventful epoch, he appears to have studied how to meliorate rather than to harden the heart; how to regulate, more than to vitiate, the practice of life.

Early in 1715 he published *The Family Instructor*, in three parts: 1st, relating to fathers and children; 2d, to masters and servants; 3d, to husbands and wives. He carefully concealed his authorship, lest the good effects of his labour should be obstructed by the great imperfections of the writer. The world

* It was entered at Stationers-Hall, for J. Roberts, the 18th of February 1715-16.—† 2d Mem. p. 27, &c.

was then too busy to look immediately into the work. The bookseller soon procured a recommendatory letter from the Reverend Samuel Wright, a well-known preacher in the Black-Friars. It was praised from *the pulpit* and *the press*: and the utility of the end, with the attractiveness of the execution, gave it, at length, a general reception*. The Author's first design was to write a *Dramatic Poem*; but the subject was too solemn, and the text too copious, to admit of restraint, or to allow excursions. His purpose was *to divert and instruct*, at the same moment; and by giving it a dramatic form, it has been called by some *A religious play*. De Foe at last says with his usual archness: As to its being called a play, be it called so, if they please: it must be confessed, some parts of it are too much acted in many families among us. The Author wishes, that either all our *Plays* were as useful for the improvement and entertainment of the world, or that they were less encouraged. There is, I think, some *mysticism* in the preface, which, it were to be desired, a judicious hand would expunge, when *The Family Instructor* shall be again reprinted; for, reprinted it will be, while our language endures; at least, while wise men shall continue to consider the influences of religion and the practice of morals as of the greatest use to society.

* The family of George I. had been instructed by the copy of this book, which is in *The Museum*. It would seem from the title page and Mr. Wright's letter being printed on a different paper from the work itself, that both were added after the first publication. *The Family Instructor* and Mr. Wright's letter were entered at Stationers Hall, for Emanuel Mathews, on the 31st of March, 1715.

De Foe afterwards added a second volume, in two parts ; 1st, relating to *Family Breaches*; 2dly, to the *great Mistake, of mixing the Passions in the managing of Children*. He considered it, indeed, as a *bold adventure* to write a second volume of any thing ; there being a general opinion among modern readers, that second parts never come up to the spirit of the first. He quotes Mr. Milton, for differing from the world upon the question, and for affirming with regard to his own great performances, *That the people had a general sense of the loss of Paradise, but not an equal gust for regaining it*. Of De Foe's second volume, it will be easily allowed, that it is as instructive and pleasing as the first. His *Religious Courtship*, which he published in 1722, may properly be considered as a third volume : For the design is equally moral, the manner is equally attractive, and it may in the same manner be called a *Religious Play*.

But the time at length came, when De Foe was to deliver to the world the most popular of all his performances. In April 1719, he published the well-known *Life and surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*. The reception was immediate and universal ; and Taylor, who purchased the manuscript after every bookseller had refused it, is said to have gained a thousand pounds. If it be inquired by what charm it is that these *surprising Adventures* should have instantly pleased, and always pleased, it will be found, that few books have ever so naturally mingled amusement with instruction. The attention is fixed, either by the simplicity of the narration, or by the variety of the incidents ; the heart is amended by *a vindication of the ways of God to man* ; and the understanding is informed, by various examples,

examples, how much utility ought to be preferred to ornament: the young are instructed, while the old are amused.

Robinson Crusoe had scarcely drawn his canoe ashore, when he was attacked by his old enemies, *the savages*. He was assailed first by *The Life and strange Adventures of Mr. D—— De F——, of London, Hosier, who has lived above Fifty Years by himself in the Kingdoms of North and South Britain*. In a dull dialogue between De Foe, Crusoe, and his man Friday, our Author's life is lampooned, and his misfortunes ridiculed. But he who had been struck by apoplexy, and who was now discountenanced by power, was no fit object of an Englishman's satire. Our Author declares, when he was himself a writer of satiric poetry, "that he never reproached any man for his private infirmities, for having his house burnt, his ships cast away, or his family ruined; nor had he ever lampooned any one, because he could not pay his debts, or differed in judgment from him." Pope has been justly censured for pursuing a vein of satire extremely dissimilar. And Pope placed De Foe with Tutchin, in *The Dunciad*, when our Author's infirmities were greater and his comfort less. He was again assaulted in 1719, by *An Epistle to D—— De F——, the reputed Author of Robinson Crusoe*. "Mr. Foe," says the letter-writer, "I have perused your pleasant story of *Robinson Crusoe*; and if the faults of it had extended no further than the frequent solecisms and incorrectness of style, improbabilities, and sometimes impossibilities, I had not given you the trouble of this Epistle." "Yet," said Johnson to Piozzi, "was there ever any thing written by mere man, that was wished

longer by its readers, except Don Quixote, *Robinson Crusoe*, and the Pilgrim's Progress?" This epistolary critic, who renewed his angry attack when the second volume appeared, has all the dulness, without the acumen, of Dennis, and all his malignity, without his purpose of reformation. *The Life of Crusoe* has passed through innumerable editions, and has been translated into foreign languages, while the criticism sunk into oblivion.

De Foe set the critics at defiance while he had the people on his side. As a commercial legislator he knew, that it is rapid sale which is the great incentive: and, in August 1719, he published a second volume of *Surprising Adventures*, with similar success. In hope of profit and of praise, he produced in August 1720, *Serious Reflections during the Life of Robinson Crusoe*, with *his Vision of the Angelic World*. He acknowledges, that the present work is not merely the product of the two first volumes, but the two first may rather be called the product of this: the fable is always made for the moral, not the moral for the fable. He however did not advert, that instruction must be insinuated rather than enforced. That this third volume has more morality than fable, is the cause, I fear, that it has never been read with the same avidity as the former two, or spoken of with the same approbation. We all prefer amusement to instruction; and he who would inculcate useful truths, must study to amuse, or he will offer his lessons to an auditory, neither numerous, nor attentive.

The tongue of detraction is seldom at rest. It has often been repeated, that De Foe had surreptitiously appropriated the papers of Alexander Selkirk, a

Scotch

Scotch mariner, who having lived solitarily on the isle of Juan Fernandez, four years and four months, was relieved on the 2d of February, 1708-9, by Captain Woodes Rogers, in his *cruizing voyage round the world*. But let no one draw inferences till the fact be first ascertained. The adventures of Selkirk had been thrown into the air, in 1712, for literary hawks to devour *; and De Foe may have caught a

* The whole story of Selkirk is told in Woodes Rogers's voyage, which he published in 1712, from p. 125 to 131, inclusive: whence it appears, that Selkirk had preserved no pen, ink, or paper, and had lost his language; so that he had no journal or papers, which he could communicate, or by others could be stolen. There is an account of Selkirk in *The Englishman*, No. 26. The particular manner how Alexander Selkirk lived four years and four months, in the isle of Juan Fernandez, is related in Captain Cook's voyage into the South Sea, which was published in 1712. And Selkirk's tale was told in the *Memoirs of Literature*, 5. vol. p. 118: so that the world was fully possessed of Selkirk's story in 1712, seven years prior to the publication of *Crusoe's adventures*. Nor were his adventures singular; for, Ringrose mentions, in his account of Captain Sharp's voyage, a person who had escaped singly from a ship that had been wrecked on Juan Fernandez, and who lived alone five years before he was relieved: And Dampier mentions a Mosquito Indian, who having been accidentally left on this island, subsisted three years solitarily, till that voyager carried him off. From which of these De Foe borrowed his great incident, it is not easy to discover. In the preface to *The Serious Reflections*, he indeed says, "That there is a man alive and well known, the actions of whose life are the just subject of these volumes, and to whom the most part of the story directly alludes." This turns the scale in favour of Selkirk. Nor, was the name of *Crusoe* wholly fictitious; for, among De Foe's contemporaries, John Dunton speaks of Timothy *Crusoe*, who was called the Golden Preacher, and was so great a textuary, that he could pray two hours together in scripture language; but, he was not arrived at perfection; as appeared by his sloth in tying the conjugal knot: yet, his repentance was sincere and public, and I fear not but he is now a glorified saint in heaven.—*Life and Errors*, p. 461.
common

common prey, which he converted to the uses of his intellect, and distributed for the purposes of his interest. Thus he may have fairly acquired the fundamental incident of Crusoe's life; but, he did not borrow the various events, the useful moralities, or the engaging style. Few men could write such a poem; and few Selkirks could imitate so pathetic an original. It was the happiness of De Foe, that as many writers have succeeded in relating enterprises by land, he excelled in narrating adventures by sea, with such felicities of language, such attractive varieties, such insinuating instruction, as have seldom been equalled, but never surpassed.

While De Foe in this manner busied himself in writing adventures, which have charmed every reader, a rhyming fit returned on him. He published in 1720, *The complete Art of Painting*, which he *did into English* from the French of Du Fresnoy. Dryden had given, in 1695, a translation of Du Fresnoy's poem, which has been esteemed for its knowledge of the sister arts. What could tempt De Foe to this undertaking it is not easy to discover, unless we may suppose, that he hoped to gain a few guineas, without much labour of the head or hand. Dryden has been justly praised for relinquishing vicious habits of composition, and adopting better models for his muse. De Foe, after he had seen the correctness, and heard the music of Pope, remained unambitious of accurate rhymes, and regardless of sweeter numbers. His politics and his poetry, for which he was long famous among biographers, would not have preserved his name beyond the fleeting day; yet I suspect that, in imitation of Milton, he would have preferred his *Jure Divino* to his Robinson Crusoe.

De

De Foe lived not then, however, in pecuniary distress; for his genius and his industry were to him the mines of Potosi: and in 1722, he obtained from the Corporation of Colchester, though my inquiries have not discovered by what interposition, a ninety-nine years lease of Kingwood-heath, at a yearly rent of a hundred and twenty pounds, with a fine of five hundred pounds *. This transaction seems to evince a degree of wealth much above want, though the assignment of his lease not long after to Walter Bernard equally proves, that he could not easily hold what he had thus obtained. Kingwood-heath is now worth three hundred pounds a year, and is advertised for sale by Bennet, the present possessor.

Whatever may have been his opulence, our Author did not waste his subsequent life in unprofitable idleness. No one can be idly employed who endeavours to make his fellow subjects better citizens and wiser men. This will sufficiently appear if we consider his future labours, under the distinct heads of voyages; fictitious biography; moralities, either grave or ludicrous; domestic travels; and tracts on trade.

The success of *Cruoe* induced De Foe to publish, in 1720, *The Life and Piracies of Captain Singleton*, though not with similar success: The plan is narrower, and the performance is less amusive. In 1725, he gave *A New Voyage round the World, by a Course never sailed before*. Most voyagers have had this misfortune, that whatever success they had in the adventure, they had very little in the narration: they are indeed full of the incidents of sailing, but they have

nothing of story for the use of readers who never intend to brave the dangers of the sea. These faults De Foe is studious to avoid in his new voyage. He spreads before his readers such adventures as no writer of a real voyage can hope to imitate, if we except the teller of Anson's tale. In the life of Crusoe we are gratified by continually imagining that the fiction is a fact: in the voyage round the world we are pleased by constantly perceiving that the fact is a fiction, which, by uncommon skill, is made more interesting than a genuine voyage.

Of fictitious biography it is equally true, that by matchless art it may be made more instructive than a real life. Few of our writers have excelled De Foe in this kind of biographical narration, the great qualities of which are, to attract by the diversity of circumstances, and to instruct by the usefulness of examples.

He published, in 1720, the History of Duncan Campbell. Of a person who was born deaf and dumb, but who himself taught the deaf and dumb to understand, it is easy to see that the life would be extraordinary. It will be found, that the Author has intermixed some disquisitions of learning, and has contrived that the merriest passages shall end with some edifying moral. The fortunes and misfortunes of Moll Flanders were made to gratify the world in 1721. De Foe was aware, that in relating a vicious life, it was necessary to make the best use of a bad story; and he artfully endeavours, that the reader shall be more pleased with the moral than the fable; with the application than the relation; with the end of the writer than the adventures of the person. There was published in 1721, a work
2 of

of a similar tendency, the *Life of Colonel Jack*, who was born a gentleman but was bred a pickpocket.—Our Author is studious to convert his various adventures into a delightful field, where the reader might gather herbs, wholesome and medicinal, without the incommodation of plants, poisonous, or noxious. In 1724, appeared the *Life of Roxana*. Scenes of crimes can scarcely be represented in such a manner, says De Foe, but some make a criminal use of them; but when vice is painted in its low-prized colours, it is not to make people love what from the frightfulness of the figures they ought necessarily to hate. Yet, I am not convinced, that the world has been made much wiser, or better, by the perusal of these lives: they may have diverted the lower orders, but I doubt if they have much improved them; if however they have not made them better, they have not left them worse. But they do not exhibit many scenes which are welcome to cultivated minds. Of a very different quality are the *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, during the Civil Wars in England, which seem to have been published without a date. This is a romance the likest to truth that ever was written. It is a narrative of great events, which is drawn with such simplicity, and enlivened with such reflections, as to inform the ignorant and entertain the wise.

The moralities of De Foe, whether published in single volumes, or interspersed through many passages, must at last give him a superiority over the crowd of his contemporaries. The approbation which has been long given to his *Family Instructor* and his *Religious Courtship*, seem to contain the favourable decision of his countrymen. But there are still
other

other performances of this nature, which are now to be mentioned, of not inferior merit.

De Foe published, in 1722, *A Journal of the Plague in 1665*. The Author's artifice consists in fixing the reader's attention by the deep distress of fellow-men; and, by recalling the reader's recollection to striking examples of mortality, he endeavours to inculcate the uncertainty of life, and the usefulness of reformation. In 1724, De Foe published *The great Law of Subordination*. This is an admirable commentary on the *Unsupportable Behaviour of Servants*. Yet, though he interests by his mode, informs by his facts, and convinces by his argument, he fails at last, by expecting from *law* what must proceed from *manners*. Our Author gave the *Political History of the Devil*, in 1726. The matter and the mode conjoin to make this a charming performance. He engages poetry and prose, reasoning and wit, persuasion and ridicule, on the side of religion and morals, with wonderful efficacy. De Foe wrote a system of magic in 1726. This may be properly regarded as a supplement to the History of the Devil. His end and his execution are exactly the same. He could see no great harm in the present pretenders to magic, if the poor people would but keep their money in their pockets; and that they should have their pockets picked by such an unperforming, unmeaning, ignorant crew as these are, is the only magic De Foe could see in the whole science. But the reader will discover in our Author's system extensive erudition, salutary remark, and useful satire. De Foe published in 1727, his *Treatise on the Use and Abuse of the Marriage-Bed*. The Author had begun this performance thirty years before:

before: he delayed the publication, though it had been long finished, in hopes of reformation. But being now *grown old*, and *out of the reach of scandal*, and despairing of amendment from a vicious age, he thought proper to *close his days* with this satire. He appealed to that Judge, before whom he expected soon to appear, that as he had done it with an upright intention, so he had used his utmost endeavour to perform it in a manner, which was the least liable to reflection, and the most answerable to the end of it—the reformation of the guilty. After such an appeal, and such asseverations, I will only remark, that this is an excellent book with an improper title-page.

We are now to consider our Author's *Tours*. He published his Travels through England, in 1724 and 1725; and through Scotland, in 1727. De Foe was not one of those travellers who seldom quit the banks of the Thames. He had made wide excursions over all those countries, with observant eyes and a vigorous intellect. The great artifice of these volumes consists in the frequent mention of such men and things, as are always welcome to the reader's mind.

De Foe's Commercial Tracts are to be reviewed lastly. Whether his fancy gradually failed, as age hastily advanced, I am unable to tell. He certainly began, in 1726, to employ his pen more frequently on the real business of common life. He published, in 1727, *The Complete English Tradesman*; directing him in the several parts of trade. A second volume soon after followed, which was addressed chiefly to the more experienced and more opulent traders. In

these treatises the tradesman found many directions of business, and many lessons of prudence. De Foe was not one of those writers, who consider *private vices* as *public benefits*: God forbid, he exclaims, that I should be understood to prompt the vices of the age, in order to promote any practice of traffic: trade need not be destroyed though vice were mortally wounded. With this salutary spirit he published, in 1728, *A Plan of the English Commerce*. This seems to be the conclusion of what he had begun in 1713. In 1728, Gee printed his *Trade and Navigation considered*. De Foe insisted, that our industry, our commerce, our opulence, and our people, had increased and were increasing. Gee represented that our manufactures had received mortal stabs; that our poor were destitute, and our country miserable. De Foe maintained the truth, which experience has taught to unwilling auditors. Gee asserted the falsehood, without knowing the fact: yet Gee is quoted, while De Foe, with all his knowledge of the subject, as a commercial writer, is almost forgotten. The reason may be found perhaps in the characteristic remark with which he opens *his plan*: Trade, like religion, is what every body talks of, but few understand.

When curiosity has contemplated such copiousness, such variety, and such excellence, it naturally inquires, which was the last of De Foe's performances? Were we to determine from the date of the title-page, the *Plan of Commerce* must be admitted to be his last. But if we must judge from his prefatory declaration, in *The Abuse of the Marriage-Bed*, where he talks of *closing his days with this satire*, which he was so far from seeing cause of being ashamed

ashamed of, that he hoped he should not be ashamed of it where he was going to account for it, we must finally decide, that our Author closed his career “ *with this upright intention for the good of mankind.*”

De Foe, after those innumerable labours, which I have thus endeavoured to recal to the public recollection, died in April, 1731, within the parish of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, London, at an age, if he were born in 1663, when it was time to prepare for *his last voyage*. He left a widow, Susannah, who did not long survive him, and six sons and daughters, whom he boasts of having educated as well as his circumstances would admit. His son Daniel is said to have emigrated to Carolina; of Benjamin, his second son, no account can be given. His youngest daughter Sophia, married Mr. Henry Baker, a person more respectable as a philosopher than a poet, who died in 1774, at the age of seventy. His daughter Maria married one Langley; but Hannah and Henrietta probably remained unmarried, since they were heiresses only of a name, which did not recommend them. With regard to

Norton, from Daniel and Ostræa sprung *,
Bless'd with his father's front, and mother's tongue,

It is only said, that he was a wretched writer in the Flying Post, and the author of Alderman Barber's

* Pope had collected this scandal from Savage, who says in his preface to his *Author to be Let*, “ Had it not been an honest livelihood for Mr. Norton, (Daniel De Foe's son of love by a lady who vended oysters) to have dealt in a fish-market, than to be dealing out the dialects of Billingsgate in the Flying Post?”

Life. De Foe probably died insolvent; for letters of administration on his goods and chattels were granted to Mary Brooke, widow, a creditrix, in September 1733, after summoning in official form the next of kin to appear *. John Dunton †, who personally knew our Author, describes him, in 1705, as a man of good parts and clear sense; of a conversation, ingenious and brisk; of a spirit, enterprising and bold, but of little prudence; with good nature and real honesty. Of his petty habits little now can be told, more than he has thus confessed himself ‡ : “ God, I thank thee, I am not a drunkard, or a swearer, or a whoremaster, or a busy-body, or idle, or revengeful; and though this be true, and I challenge all the world to prove the contrary, yet, I must own, I see small satisfaction in all the negatives of common virtues; for though I have not been guilty of any of these vices, nor of many more, I have nothing to infer from thence, but *Te Deum laudamus*.” He says himself—

Confession will anticipate reproach,
He that reviles us then, reviles too much;
All satire ceases when the men repent,
'Tis cruelty to lash the penitent.

When De Foe had arrived at sixty-five, while he was encumbered with a family, and, I fear, pinched with penury, Pope endeavoured, by repeated strokes, to bring his gray hairs with sorrow to the grave. This he did without propriety, and, as far as appears,

* The above mentioned particulars were discovered by searching the books at Doctors Commons.—† Life and Errors, 239-40
‡ In the preface to his Reformation.

without provocation ; for our Author is not in the black list of scribblers, who by attempting to lessen the poet's fame, incited the satirist's indignation. The offence and the fate of Bentley and De Foe were nearly alike. Bently would not allow *the translation to be Homer* : De Foe had endeavoured to bring Milton into vogue seven years ere the *Paradise Lost* and *Chevy Chase* had been criticised in the Spectators by Addison. Our Author had said in *More Reformation*,

Let this describe the nation's character,
 One man reads Milton, forty ———.
 The case is plain, the temper of the time,
 One wrote the *lewd*, the other the *sublime*.

An enraged poet alone could have thrust into the *Dunciad*, Bentley, a profound scholar, Cibber, a brilliant wit, and De Foe, a happy genius. This was the consequence of exalting satire as the test of truth ; while truth ought to have been enthroned the test of satire. Yet, it ought not to be forgotten, that De Foe has some sarcasm, in his *System of Magic*, on the *sylphs* and *gnomes*, which Pope may have deemed a daring invasion of his Rosicrutan territories.

De Foe has not yet outlived his century, though he have outlived most of his contemporaries. Yet the time is come, when he must be acknowledged as one of the ablest, as he is one of the most captivating, writers, of which this island can boast. Before he can be admitted to this pre-eminence, he must be considered distinctly, as a poet, as a novelist, as a polemic, as a commercial writer, and as a grave historian.

As a poet, we must look to the end of his effusions rather than to his execution, ere we can allow him

considerable praise. To mollify national animosities, or to vindicate national rights, is certainly noble objects, which merit the vigour and imagination of Milton, or the flow and precision of Pope; but our Author's energy runs into harshness, and his sweetness is to be tasted in his prose more than in his poetry. If we regard the adventures of Crusoe, like the adventures of Telemachus, as a poem, his moral, his incidents, and his language, must lift him high on the poet's scale. His professed poems, whether we contemplate the propriety of sentiment, or the suavity of numbers, may indeed, without much loss of pleasure or instruction, be resigned to those, who, in imitation of Pope, poach in the fields of obsolete poetry for brilliant thoughts, felicities of phrase, or for happy rhymes.

As a novelist, every one will place him in the foremost rank, who considers his originality, his performance, and his purpose. *The Ship of Fools* had indeed been launched in early times; but, who like De Foe, had ever carried his reader to sea, in order to mend the heart, and regulate the practice of life, by shewing his readers the effects of adversity, or how they might equally be called to sustain his hero's trials, as they sailed round the world. But, without attractions, neither the originality, nor the end, can have any salutary consequence. This he had foreseen; and for this he has provided, by giving his adventures in a style so pleasing, because it is simple, and so interesting, because it is particular, that every one fancies he could write a similar language. It was, then, idle in Boyer formerly, or in Smollet lately, to speak of De Foe as *a party writer, in little estimation*. The writings of no Author since have run through more
numerous

numerous editions. And he whose works have pleased generally and pleased long, must be deemed a writer of no small estimation; the people's verdict being the proper test of what they are the proper judges.

As a polemick, I fear we must regard our Author with less kindness, though it must be recollected, that he lived during a contentious period, when two parties distracted the nation, and writers indulged in great asperities. But, in opposition to reproach, let it ever be remembered, that he defended freedom, without anarchy; that he supported toleration, without libertinism; that he pleaded for moderation even amidst violence. With acuteness of intellect, with keenness of wit, with archness of diction, and pertinacity of design; it must be allowed that nature had qualified, in a high degree, De Foe for a disputant. His polemical treatises, whatever might have been their attractions once, may now be delivered without reserve to those who delight in polemical reading. De Foe, it must be allowed, was a party-writer: But, were not Swift and Prior, Steel and Addison, Halifax and Bolingbroke, party-writers? De Foe, being a party-writer upon settled principles, did not change with the change of parties: Addison and Steel, Prior and Swift, connected as they were with persons, changed their note as persons were elevated or depressed.

As a commercial writer, De Foe is fairly intitled to stand in the foremost rank among his contemporaries, whatever may be their performances or their fame. Little would be his praise, to say of him, that he wrote on commercial legislation like

Addison, who when he touches on Trade, sinks into imbecility, without knowledge of fact, or power of argument *. The distinguishing characteristics of De Foe, as a commercial disquisitor, are originality and depth. He has many sentiments with regard to traffic, which are scattered through his Reviews, and which I never read in any other book. His *Giving Alms no Charity* is a capital performance, with the exception of one or two thoughts about the abridgment of labour by machinery, which are either half formed or half expressed. Were we to compare De Foe with D'Avenant, it would be found, that D'Avenant has more detail from official documents; that De Foe has more fact from wider inquiry. D'Avenant is more apt to consider laws in their particular application; De Foe more frequently investigates commercial legislation in its general effects. From the publications of D'Avenant it is sufficiently clear, that he was not very regardful of means or very attentive to consequences; De Foe is more correct in his motives, and more salutary in his ends. But, as a commercial prophet, De Foe must yield the palm to Child; who foreseeing from experience that men's conduct must finally be directed by their principles, foretold the colonial revolt: De Foe, allowing his prejudices to obscure his sagacity, reprobated that suggestion, because he deemed interest a more strenuous prompter than enthusiasm. Were we however to form an opinion, not from special passages, but from whole

* See the present State of the War, and the necessity of an augmentation. And See his Commercial Papers in the Freeholder.

performances, we must incline to De Foe, when compared with the ablest contemporary: we must allow him the preference, on recollection, that when he writes on commerce he seldom fails to insinuate some axiom of morals, or to inculcate some precept of religion.

As an historian, it will be found, that our Author had few equals in the English language, when he wrote. His *Memoirs of a Cavalier* shew how well he could execute the lighter narratives. His *History of the Union* evinces that he was equal to the higher department of historic composition. This is an account of a single event, difficult indeed in its execution, but beneficial certainly in its consequences. With extraordinary skill and information, our Author relates, not only the event, but the transactions which preceded, and the effects which followed. He is at once learned and intelligent. Considering the factiousness of the age, his candour is admirable. His moderation is exemplary. And if he spoke of James I. as a tyrant, he only exercised the prerogative, which our historians formerly enjoyed, of casting obloquy on an unfortunate race, in order to supply deficiency of knowledge, of elegance, and of stile. In this instance De Foe allowed his prejudice to overpower his philosophy. If the language of his narrative want the dignity of the great historians of the current times, it has greater facility; if it be not always grammatical, it is generally precise; and if it be thought defective in strength, it must be allowed to excel in sweetness.

Such then are the pretensions of De Foe to be acknowledged as one of the ablest and most useful

writers of our island. He who still doubts may perhaps satisfy his greatest doubts, by perusing the chronological catalogue of our Author's works, which I have compiled, in order to gratify the public curiosity; and which, for the greater distinctness, I have divided into two heads: 1st, Those writings that I think are certainly De Foe's: 2dly, those writings that are said to be his. As I do not pretend to perfect accuracy, it would be a favour to the world and to me, if any one, of more knowledge and leisure than I possess, would point out mistakes for the purpose of amendment. The zealous interposition of Mr. Lockyer Davis, and the liberal spirit of the Stationers Company, procured me the perusal of the Register of books, which have been entered at Stationers-Hall. I was surprised and disappointed to find so few of De Foe's writings entered as property, and his name never mentioned as an author or a man.

A LIST

A LIST of WRITINGS, which are
considered as undoubtedly DE FOE's.

A TREATISE against the Turks, 1683.—De Foe continued the argument of this Treatise through several Reviews in September and October 1704.

A Tract against the Proclamation for the Repeal of the Penal Laws. 1687.—The title of it, I believe was, *A Letter to a Dissenter, upon Occasion of his Majesty's late Declaration*. L'Estrange published an answer to this Letter on the 5th October 1687.

A Voyage to the World of Cartesius. Written originally in French, and now translated into English.—T. Bennet. 1692.

An Essay upon Projects: By D. F. *T. Cockerille*, 25th January, 1696-7.—*The Second Edition*, 1702.

An Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters, in Cases of Preferment. With a Preface to the Lord Mayor, occasioned by his carrying the Sword to a Conventicle.—1697. 12mo. It was re-published in 1701, with a Dedicatoratory Preface to Mr. John How.

The True-born Englishman. No Publisher's name. 23d January, 1700-1. 4to.—This was entered at Stationers-Hall, for James Roberts, on the 5th of March, 1715.—Fourteen years being elapsed since the first publication, De Foe seems thus to have reclaimed the property which he sold to Roberts.

The Freeholder's Plea against Stock-jobbing Members of Parliament. 1701. 4to.

The Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England, examined and asserted. By D. F. No Publisher's name. 1702. Folio.

A new Test of the Church of England's Loyalty; or, Whiggish Loyalty and Church Loyalty compared. 1702.

An Enquiry into Occasional Conformity, shewing that the Dissenters are no way concerned in it. 1702.

The

The Shortest Way to Peace and Union. By the Author of the Shortest Way with the Dissenters. 1703. 4to.

A Challenge of Peace to the whole Nation. 1703.

The Sincerity of Dissenters, vindicated from the Scandal of Occasional Conformity. 1703.

The Liberty of Episcopal Dissenters in Scotland, truly stated. By a Gentleman. 1703.

A true Collection of the Writings of the Author of the True-born Englishman. Corrected by himself. 1703. 8vo.

C O N T E N T S.

1. The True-born Englishman, a Satire.—2. The Mock-mourners, a Satire.—3. Reformation of Manners, a Satire.—4. The Character of the late Dr. Samuel Annesley, by Way of Elegy.—5. The Spanish Descent, a Poem.—6. The Freeholder's Plea against Stock-jobbing Elections of Parliament Men.—7. Reasons against a War with France, &c.—8. An Argument shewing that a Standing Army, with Consent of Parliament, is not inconsistent with a Free Government.—9. The Dangers of the Protestant Religion, from the present Prospect of a Religious War in Europe.—10. The Villainy of Stock-jobbers detected, and the Causes of the late Run upon the Bank and Bankers discovered and considered.—11. The Six distinguishing Characters of a Parliament Man.—12. The Poor Man's Plea.—13. An Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters, in Cases of Preferment, with a Preface to Mr. How.—14. A Letter to Mr. How, by Way of Reply to his Considerations of the Preface to an Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of the Dissenters.—15. The two great Questions considered: (1) What the French King will do, with Respect to the Spanish Monarchy? (2) What Measures the English ought to take?—16. The two great Questions farther considered, with some Reply to the Remarks.—17. An Enquiry into Occasional Conformity, shewing that the Dissenters are no ways concerned in it.—18. A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty, or Whiggish Loyalty and Church Loyalty compared.—19. The Shortest Way with the Dissenters, or Proposals for the Establishment of the Church.—20. A brief Explanation of a late Pamphlet entitled "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters."—21. The Shortest Way to Peace and Union.

The Review began to be published on the 19th of February, 1703-4, every Saturday and Tuesday, till the 24th of March, 1705, when it was published also on Thursday. Thus
it

it continued to be published every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, till May 1713, when it was discontinued. The whole Collection forms nine thick volumes in Quarto: but, from the inquiries which I have made, I doubt whether a complete sett of De Foe's Reviews any where exist.

The Storm: or a Collection of the most Remarkable Casualties and Disasters which happened in the late dreadful Tempest, both by Sea and Land. Sawbridge. 27th July, 1704. Octavo.

An Elegy on the Author of the True-born Englishman; with an Essay on the late Storm: By the Author of the Hymn to the Pillory. 15th August, 1704.

A Hymn to Victory, by the Author of the True-born Englishman, 29th August, 1704. The Second Edition, with Additions, September 9th, 1704.

An Essay on the Regulation of the Press, 1704.

An Inquiry into the Case of Mr. Asgil's General Translation; shewing that it is not a nearer way to Heaven than the Grave. By the Author of the True-born Englishman. 26th September, 1704. Octavo.

More Short Essays with the Dissenters, 1704.

Giving Alms no Charity: and Employing the Poor a Grievance to the Nation, 23d December, 1704.

The Double Welcome to the Duke of Marlborough. By the Author of the True-born Englishman. 9th January, 1705—6.

The Consolidator. By the Author of the True-born Englishman, 26th March, 1705.

The Experiment; or, the Shortest Way with the Dissenters exemplified. Bragg. 7th April, 1705. Octavo.

Advice to all Parties. By the Author of the True-born Englishman. Ben. Bragg. 30th April, 1705. Octavo.

The High Church Legion; or, the Memorial examined. Being a new Test of Moderation: As it is Recommended to all that love the Church of England and the Constitution. By the Author of the True-born Englishman. Price 6d. 7th July, 1705.—This is an Answer to Dr. Drake's well-known Memorial of the Church of England.

A True Collection of the Writings of the Author of the
True-born

True-born Englishman. Corrected and Enlarged by the Author, 1705.

C O N T E N T S.

1. A new Discovery of an old Intrigue ; a Satire, levelled at Treachery and Ambition.—2. More Reformation, a Satire upon himself.—3. An Elegy on the Author of the True-born Englishman.—4. The Storm, an Essay.—5. A Hymn to the Pillory.—6. A Hymn to Victory.—7. The Pacifcator.—8. The Double-welcome to the Duke of Marlborough, a Poem.—9. The Dissenter's Answer to the High Church Challenge.—10. A Challenge of Peace, addressed to the whole Nation.—11. Peace without Union, by way of Reply to Sir H—— M——'s Peace at Home.—12. More Short Ways with the Dissenters.—13. A new Test of the Church of England, *Honesty*.—14. A serious Enquiry into the Grand Question, Whether a Law to prevent the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters, would not be inconsistent with the Act of Toleration, and a Breach of the Queen's Promise?—15. The Dissenters misrepresented, and represented.—16. The Parallel ; or, Persecution of the Protestants, the shortest Way to prevent the Growth of Popery in Ireland.—17. Giving Alms no Charity, and Employing the Poor a Grievance to the Nation ; being an Essay upon this great Question, Whether Workhouses, Corporations, and Houses of Correction, for Employing the Poor, as now practised in England, or Parish Stocks, as Proposed in a late Pamphlet, intituled, A Bill for the better Relief, Employment, and Settlement of the Poor, &c. are not Mischievous to the Nation, tending to the Destruction of Trade, and to increase the Number and Misery of the Poor?—18. Loyal Religion, being some Enquiry after the Piety of Princes ; with Remarks on a Book intituled A Form of Prayer used by King William.

The True Relation of the Apparition of one Mrs. Veal, the next day after her Death, to one Mrs. Bargrave at Canterbury, the Eighth of September, 1705. First Edition, 1705. Octavo. Second Edition, 1707.—The tradition among the Booksellers is, That when *Drelincourt's Consolations against the Fears of Death* first appeared, the book would not sell. De Foe said he would make it sell, and he made *the Apparition* recommend Drelincourt's Book of Death, as the best on that subject ever written. This affecting story had sold Twenty Editions of Drelincourt's Consolations before the year 1776, when the Twenty-first Edition was published.

The

The Diet of Poland; a Satire, 1705. Quarto.—Of this Poem I have never seen but one line, which the Author quotes himself:

“ If Knaves were never fools, they'd soon blow up the State.”

A Hymn to Peace: occasioned by the two Houses joining in one, Addressed to the Queen. By the Author of the True-born Englishman. January 10th, 1706.

A Reply to a Pamphlet intituled, The Vindication of Lord H——'s Speech. Quarto. By the Author of the Review. 15th January, 1706.

An Essay at Removing National Prejudices against an Union with Scotland. To be continued during the Treaty here. London, Part First, 4th May, 1706; Part Second, 28th May, 1706.

Thomas de Laune's Plea for the Nonconformists: with a Preface by the Author of the Review. 4th June, 1706.—There was an Edition of the Plea in 1682; and one in 1712.

Jure Divino: a Satire on Tyranny and Passive Obedience. By the Author of the True-born Englishman. July 20th, 1706, in Folio and Octavo.

De Foe says, in his Review of the 26th of January, 1706—7, “ I have published six several Essays in Scotland for Removing National Prejudices.”—The two following Tracts are certainly two of these:

The Advantages of the Act of Security, compared to the intended Union. By D. De Foe. Quarto, 1706.

A Fifth Essay at Removing National Prejudices; with a Reply to some Authors who have printed their Objections against an Union. 1707. Quarto.

The Dissenters Vindicated from Reflections in a late Pamphlet, called Lawful Prejudices. D. De Foe. A single Sheet. Quarto.

Caledonia; a Poem in Honour of Scotland, and the Scots Nation. In three Parts. Edinburgh, 1706, Folio. London, 28th January, 1706—7. Octavo.

The Dissenters Vindicated; or, a Short View of the present State of the Protestant Religion in Britain, as it is now professed in the Episcopal Church of England, the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, and the Dissenters in both. In answer to some Reflections in Mr. Webster's two books published in Scotland. London, 1st April, 1707. Octavo.—Mr. Webster's two books were, Lawful Prejudices; or, the Sinfulness of the Union. By the Reverend John Webster. Edinburgh, 1707.—The Author of the Lawful Prejudices defended.

defended. By the Reverend John Webster. Edinburgh, 1707.

The History of the Union between England and Scotland; by Daniel De Foe. With an Appendix of Original Papers. Edinburgh, 1709. Folio. 2d Edition, London, 1712; 3d Edition, 1786. Quarto.

The History of Addresses. By one very near Akin to the Author of the Tale of a Tub. 1709. Octavo.

The History of Addresses. With Remarks serious and comical. In which a particular Regard is had to all such as have been presented since the Impeachment of Dr. Sacheverel. Part second. By the Author of the first. J. Baker. 1711. Octavo.

An Essay at a plain Exposition of that difficult Phrase, *A good Peace*. By the Author of the Review. 1711. Octavo.

An Essay on the South-Sea Trade, with an Enquiry into the Grounds and Reasons of the present Dislike and Complaint against the Settlement of a South-Sea Company. By the Author of the Review. First Edition, 1711. Second Edition, corrected. 1712.

A Seasonable Caution. 1712. Octavo.

Reasons against the Succession of the House of Hanover; with an Enquiry how far the Abdication of King James, supposing it to be Legal, ought to affect the Person of the Pretender. 1712. Octavo.

And what if the Pretender should come? or, some Considerations of the Advantages and real Consequences of the Pretender's possessing the Crown of Great Britain. 1712. Octavo.

An Answer to a Question that Nobody thinks of; viz. What if the Queen should die? 1712. Octavo.

The three last, are the Tracts for which De Foe was prosecuted in 1713.

A General History of Trade, and especially considered as it respects the British Commerce, as well at Home as to all Parts of the World. With Essays upon the Improvement of our Trade in particular. To be continued Monthly. London. J. Baker. 1st August, 1713. Octavo. Price 6d.

A General History of Trade, and especially considered as it respects the British Commerce, as well at Home as to all Parts of the World. With a Discourse of the Use of Harbours

Harbours and Roads for Shipping, as it relates particularly to the filling up the Harbour of Dunkirk. This for the Month of July. 15 August, 1713. Octavo, Price 6d.

The Family Instructor: In three Parts.—1. Relating to Fathers and Children:—2. To Masters and Servants:—3. to Husbands and Wives.—This, with the Recommendatory Letter of the Rev. S. Wright, was entered at Stationers Hall, for E. Mathews, on the 31st March 1715, Octavo.

A second Volume was afterwards added in two Parts:—1. Relating to Family Breaches, and their obstructing Religious Duties.—2. To the great Mistake of mixing the Passions in the Managing and Correcting of Children:—with a great variety of Cases relating to setting ill Examples to Children and Servants. The 8th Edition in 1722. The 17th Edition in 1772.

An Appeal to Honour and Justice, though it be of his worst Enemies. By Daniel De Foe. Being a true Account of his Conduct in Public Affairs. J. Baker, 1715. Octavo.

The Life and strange surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner, who lived eight-and-twenty Years all alone in an uninhabited Island on the Coast of America, near the Mouth of the great River of Oroonoke; having been cast on Shore by Shipwreck, wherein all the Men perished but himself: With an Account how he was at last strangely delivered by Pirates. Written by himself. To which is added a Map of the World, in which is delineated the Voyages of Robinson Crusoe.—This Work was entered at Stationers-Hall, for W. Taylor, the 23d April, 1719.

The farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe; being the second and last part of his Life, and of the strange surprising Account of his Travels round three Parts of the Globe: written by himself. To which is added a Map of the World, in which is delineated the Voyages of Robinson Crusoe. This was entered at Stationers-Hall, for W. Taylor, the 17th August, 1719. Octavo.

Serious Reflections, during the Life and surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe: with his Vision of the Angelic World. Written by himself. This was entered at Stationers-Hall, for W. Taylor, the 3d August, 1720. Octavo.

The Dumb Philosopher: or Great Britain's Wonder: Containing, first, a faithful and very surprising Account how Dickory Cronke, a Tinner's Son in the County of Cornwall, was born dumb, and continued so for 58 Years; and how some days before he died he came to his Speech: with Memoirs of his Life, and the Manner of his Death. Second, a Declaration

Declaration of his Faith and Principles in Religion: with a Collection of Select Meditations, composed in his Retirement. Third, his Prophetical Observations upon the Affairs of Europe, more particularly of Great Britain, from 1620 to 1629. The whole extracted from his Original Papers, and confirmed by unquestionable Authority. To which is Annexed his Elegy, written by a young Cornish Gentleman of Exeter College in Oxford; with an Epitaph by another Hand. T. Bickerton, 1719. Octavo.

The Life, Adventures and Piracies of the famous Captain Singleton: Containing an Account of his being set on Shore in the Island of Madagascar, his Settlement there, with a Description of the Place and Inhabitants: Of his Passage from thence in a Paraguay to the Mainland of Africa, with an Account of the Customs and Manners of the People: His great Deliverances from the barbarous Natives and wild Beasts: Of his meeting with an Englishman, a Citizen of London among the Indians, the great Riches he acquired, and his Voyage home to England. As also Captain Singleton's return to Sea, with an Account of his many Adventures and Piracies, with the famous Captain Avery and others. London, Printed for J. Brotherton, &c. 1720. Octavo.

The History of the Life and Adventures of Mr. Duncan Campbell, a Gentleman, who, though Deaf and Dumb, writes down any Stranger's name at first sight; with their future Contingencies of Fortune. Now living in Exeter Court, over against the Savoy in the Strand. London, Printed for E. Curll. Price 5s. 1720. Octavo.

The Supernatural Philosopher, or the Mysteries of Magic in all its Branches clearly unfolded. Containing, First, An Argument proving the Perception which Mankind have by all the Senses of Dæmons, Genii or familiar Spirits, and of the several Species of them, both good and bad. Second, A Philosophical Discourse concerning the Second Sight, demonstrating it to be Hereditary in some Families. Third, A full Answer to all Objections that can be brought against the Existence of Spirits, Witches, &c. Fourth, Of Divination by Dreams, Spectres, Omens, Apparitions after Death, Predictions, &c. Fifth, Of Inchantment, Necromancy, Geomancy, Hydromancy, Aeromancy, Pyromancy, Chiromancy, Augury and Aruspicy, collected and compiled from the most approved Authorities. By William Bond, of Bury St. Edmond's, Suffolk. Exemplified in the Life of Mr. Duncan Campbell. 5s.

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The Compleat Art of Painting, a Poem : Translated from the French of Du Fresnoy. By D. F. Gentleman. Warner, 1720. Octavo.

The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the famous Moll Flanders, &c. who was born in Newgate, and during a Life of continued Variety for threescore years, besides her childhood, was twelve times a Whore, five times a Wife, (whereof once to her own Brother,) twelve years a Thief, eight years a transported Felon in Virginia, at last grew rich, lived honest, and died a Penitent. Written from her own Memorandums. W. Chetwood, 1721. Octavo. Third Edition. Chetwood, 1722. Edition, J. Brotherton, 1741. Lowndes, &c. 1776.—This was entered at Stationers-Hall as a new book, on the twelfth of January, 1722—23, for Thomas Edlin.

A Journal of the Plague Year ; being Observations or Memorials of the most Remarkable Occurrences, as well public as private, which happened in London during the last great Visitation in 1665. Written by a Citizen who continued all the while in London. Never made Public before 1722. Octavo.—To which is added, A Journal of the Plague at Marseilles in 1720. 1722. Octavo.

Religious Courtship : being Historical Discourses on the necessity of marrying Religious Husbands and Wives only. As also of Husbands and Wives being of the same Opinions in Religion with one another. With an Appendix, of the Necessity of taking none but Religious Servants, and a Proposal for the better Managing of Servants. London. E. Mathews, &c. 1722. Octavo. Fifth Edition, corrected 1737. Seventh Edition, 1743.

The History and Remarkable Life of the truly Honourable Colonel Jaque, commonly called Colonel Jack, who was born a Gentleman, put Prentice to a Pickpocket, was six-and-twenty Years a Thief, and then kidnapped to Virginia. Came back a Merchant, was five times married to four Whores, went into the Wars, behaved bravely, got Preferment, was made Colonel of a Regiment, came over and fled with the Chevalier, is still abroad completing a Life of Wonders, and resolves to die a General. The first Edition 1722, probably ; Second Edition, J. Brotherton, &c. 1723, Octavo ; Third Edition, 1724.

The Fortunate Mistress ; or, a History of the Life and vast Variety of Fortunes of Mademoiselle de Belau, afterwards called the Countess de Wintelsheim in Germany. Being

the Person known by the Name of the Lady Roxana, in the time of King Charles the Second. London. T. Warner. 1724. Octavo.

The Great Law of Subordination considered; or, the Insolence and unsufferable behaviour of Servants in England, duly inquired into. Illustrated with a great Variety of Examples, Historical Cases, and remarkable Stories of the Behaviour of some particular Servants, suited to all the several Arguments made use of, as they go on. In ten familiar Letters. Together with a Conclusion, being an earnest and moving Remonstrance to the Housekeepers and Heads of Families in Great Britain, pressing them not to cease using their utmost Interest, especially at this Juncture, to obtain sufficient Laws for the effectual Regulations of the Manners and Behaviour of their Servants. As also a Proposal, containing such Heads or Constitutions as would effectually answer this great End, and bring Servants of every Class to a just and yet not a grievous Regulation. S. Harding and the London Bookfellers. 1724. Octavo.—I doubt if this were ever re-published.

A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain, divided into Circuits or Journies. Giving a particular and diverting Account of whatever is Curious and worth Observation, viz. First, A Description of the Principal Cities and Towns, their Situation, Magnitude, Government and Commerce. Second, their Customs, Manners, Speech; as also the Exercises, Diversions and Employments of the People. Third, The Produce and Improvement of the Lands, the Trade and Manufactures. Fourth, The Sea Ports, and Fortifications, the Course of Rivers, and the Inland Navigation. Fifth, The Public Edifices, Seats and Palaces of the Nobility and Gentry. With useful Observations upon the whole. Particularly fitted for the reading of such as desire to travel over the Island. By a Gentleman. London. G. Strahan, 1724. Octavo. Vol. 2d, 1725; Vol. 3d, 1727. A Fourth Volume was added to the Edition, 1732, which is said to have been by Richardson. There was an Eighth Edition in 1778. This *Tour* is often confounded with a *Journey* through England and Scotland, in Familiar Letters from a Gentleman here to his Friend abroad, which was Published about the same time by Pemberton and Brown. And by the Author of this Journey was written, *A Journey through the Austrian Netherlands*, which was published in 1725, and is often attributed to De Foe by those
I who

who mistake the *Journey* of the one Author for the *Tour* of the other.

A New Voyage round the World, by a Course never failed before. Being a Voyage undertaken by some Merchants who afterwards proposed the setting up an East India Company in Flanders. Illustrated with Copper-plates. London. A. Bettefworth, 1725. Octavo.

The Political History of the Devil, as well Ancient as Modern: in two Parts. Part First, containing a State of the Devil's Circumstances, and the various Turns of his Affairs, from his Expulsion out of Heaven to the Creation of Man; with Remarks on the several Mistakes concerning the Reason and Manner of his Fall. Also his Proceedings with Mankind ever since Adam to the first planting of the Christian Religion in the World. Part Second, containing his more private Conduct, down to the present Times. His Government, his Appearances, his Manner of Working, and the Tools he works with. London, T. Warner, 1726. Octavo. Second Edition, 1727; Third Edition, 1734; Fourth Edition, 1739; and Sixth Edition, 1770.—When this was a second time printed, it was entitled simply *The History of the Devil*. “This Second Edition, says De Foe, notwithstanding a large Impression of the first, is a Certificate from the World of its general Acceptation. The wise World has been pleased with it, the merry World has been diverted with it, and the ignorant World has been taught by it; and none but the malicious part of the World has been offended at it: Who can wonder, that when the Devil is not pleased, his Friends should be angry!” Preface. Yet, in subsequent Editions the original Title is restored.

The Compleat English Tradesman; in Familiar Letters, directing him in all the several Parts and Progressions of Trade, viz.—1. Of acquainting him with Business during his Apprenticeship.—2. Of writing to Correspondents in a trading Style.—3. Of Diligence and Application, as the Life of all Business.—4. Cautions against Over-trading.—5. Of the ordinary Occasions of a Tradesman's Ruin; such as expensive Living, too early Marrying, innocent Diversions, too much Credit, being above Business, dangerous Partnerships, &c.—6. Directions in several Distresses of a Tradesman when he comes to Fail.—7. Of Tradesmen compounding with other Tradesmen, and why they are so particularly severe upon one another.—8. Of Tradesmen ruining one another by Rumours and Scandal.—9. Of the

customary Frauds of Trade, and particularly of *trading Lies*.—10. Of *Credit*, and how it is only to be supported by Honesty.—11. Of punctual paying Bills, and thereby maintaining Credit.—12. Of the Dignity and Honour of Trade in England, more than in other Countries. The second Edition. To which is added a Supplement, containing: 1. A Warning against Tradesmen's borrowing Money upon Interest.—2. A Caution against that destructive Practice of drawing and remitting, as also discounting Promissary Bills, merely for a supply of Cash.—3. Directions for the Tradesman's Accounts, with brief but plain Examples, and Specimens for Book-keeping.—4. Of keeping a Duplicate or Pocket Lodger, in case of Fire. Charles Rivington. 1727 Octavo.

The Compleat English Tradesman, Vol. II. In two Parts. Part First, directed chiefly to the more experienced Tradesmen; with Cautions and Advices to them after they are thriven, and supposed to be grown Rich, *viz.* 1. Against running out of their Business into needless Projects and dangerous Adventures, no Tradesman being above Disaster.—2. Against oppressing one another by engrossing, under-felling, combination in Trade, &c.—3. Advices that when he leaves off his Business he should part Friends with the World; the great Advantages of it; with a Word of the scandalous Character of a purse-proud Tradesman.—4. Against being litigious and vexatious, and apt to go to Law for Trifles; with some reasons why Tradesmen's Differences should, if possible, be all ended by Arbitration.—Part Second: Being useful *Generals* in Trade, describing the Principles and Foundation of the Home Trade of Great Britain; with large Tables of our Manufactures, Calculations of the Product, Shipping, Carriage of Goods by Land, Importation from Abroad, Consumption at Home, &c. By all of which the infinite Number of our Tradesmen are employed, and the general Wealth of the Nation raised and increased. The whole calculated for the Use of all our inland Tradesmen, as well in the City as in the Country. Charles Rivington, 1727.—The title of *The Compleat English Tradesman* is not altogether new: For, there was Entered at Stationers-Hall for John Dunton, on the sixth of December, 1683, *The Pleasant Art of Money-catching*; being the second and last part of *The Compleat Tradesman*.

An Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions. Being an Account of what they are, and what they are not:

as also how we may distinguish between the Apparitions of good and evil Spirits, and how we ought to behave to them. With a great Variety of surprizing and diverting Examples never published before. J. Roberts, 1727. Octavo.

A System of Magic; or, a History of the Black Art. Being an Historical Account of Mankind's most early Dealings with the Devil; and how the Acquaintance on both Sides first begun. J. Roberts, 1727, and for A. Millar, 1728.—This book was entered at Stationers Hall, on the thirtieth of December, 1726, for John Watts, who probably assigned his interest to Roberts. This was called a *Compleat* System of Magic, &c. 1729.

A Treatise concerning the Use and Abuse of the Marriage Bed: shewing, 1. The Nature of Matrimony, its Sacred Original, and the true meaning of its Institution.—2. The gross Abuse of Matrimonial Chastity, from the wrong Notions that have possessed the World.—3. The diabolical Practice of attempting to prevent Child-bearing by physical preparations.—4. The fatal Consequences of clandestine forced Marriages, through the Persuasion, Interest, or Influence of Parents and Relations to wed the Person they have no Love for, but oftentimes an Aversion to.—5. Of Unequal Matches as to the Disproportion of Age, and how such many Ways occasion a Matrimonial Whoredom.—6. How married Persons may be guilty of Conjugal Lewdness, and that a Man may in effect make a Whore of his own Wife. Also many other Particulars of Family Concern. T. Warner, 1729. Octavo. This book appeared about the same time with this title: Conjugal Lewdness; or, Matrimonial Whoredom.

A Plan of the English Commerce: Being a compleat Prospect of the Trade of this Nation, as well the Home Trade as the Foreign. In three Parts. Part First, Containing a View of the present magnitude of the English Trade, as it Respects, 1. The Exportation of our own Growth and Manufacture.—2. The Importation of Merchant Goods from Abroad.—3. The prodigious Consumption of both at Home.—Part Second, Containing an Answer to that great and important Question now depending, Whether our Trade, and especially our Manufactures, are in a declining condition, or no?—Part Third, Containing several Proposals, entirely new, for extending and improving our Trade, and promoting the Consumption of our Manufactures in Countries wherewith we have hitherto had no Commerce. Humbly offered to the Consideration of King and Parliament. Charles Ri-

vington, 1728;—the second Edition, 1730;—the third Edition, 1737. Octavo.—The last Edition is said by Rivington, the original Publisher who knew the Author, to be by the late ingenious Mr. Daniel De Foe. Rivington calls the Edition of 1737 *the Second*; having forgotten that he had published *the Second* Edition in 1730.

Memoirs of a Cavalier; or, a Military Journal of the Wars in Germany and the Wars in England, from the Year 1632 to the Year 1648. Written above fourscore Years ago by an English Gentleman who served first in the Army of Gustavus Adolphus, the glorious King of Sweden, till his death; and after that in the Royal Army of King Charles I. from the Beginning of the Rebellion to the End of that War. Leeds, for James Lister, &c.—There was a London Edition for A. Bell. But my researches have not enabled me to ascertain the time when this interesting Work was first published, Octavo.

There is a *Pindarick Ode* prefixed to the second Volume of the second Edition of *the Athenian Oracle*, in 1704, and signed D. F. John Dunton complains in his *Life and Errors*, that De Foe had afterwards reclaimed this Ode, as his property, though he had formerly given it as a present to *the Athenian Society*.

A List of Books which are supposed to be De Foe's.

THE Comical History of the Life and Death of Mumper, Generalissimo of King Charles the Second's Dogs. By Helioftropolis, Secretary to the Emperor of the Moon. 3d June, 1704. Octavo.

An Historical Account of the Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland. 1707. Octavo.

The Fifteen Comforts of an honest Scotchman. 1707. Octavo.

The Quaker's Sermon on the Union: being the only Sermon preached and printed by that Sort of People, on that Subject. August 21st, 1707. Octavo.

The Union Proverb:

If Skiddaw has a Cap,

Scruffel wots full well of that:

Setting forth, 1. The Necessity of uniting;—2. The good Consequences of uniting;—3. The happy Union of England and Scotland, in Case of a Foreign Invasion. London. Morphew, 12th March, 1707—8.

A Word

A Word against a new Election, that the People of England may see the happy Difference between English Liberty and French Slavery, and may consider well before they make the Exchange. 1710. Octavo.

The Judgment of whole Kingdoms and Nations concerning the Rights, Power, and Prerogative of Kings, and the Rights, Privileges, and Properties of the People, &c. 1710. Octavo.—This has been ascribed to and lately printed as a work of Lord Somers. The title-page says it was written by a True Lover of the Queen and Country, who wrote in 1690 against absolute Passive Obedience, &c.

A new Test of the Sense of the Nation: being a modest Comparison between the Addresses of the late King James and those to her present Majesty, in order to observe how far the Sense of the Nation may be judged by either of them. 1710. Octavo.

The Character of a Modern Addresser. J. Baker, 1st May, 1710. On a half sheet. Quarto.

Some Thoughts upon the Subject of Commerce with France. 1713. Octavo.

Les Soupirs de la Grand Bretagne, being the Second Part of the Groans of Europe. 1713. Octavo.

Whigs turned Tories; and Hanoverian Tories, from their avowed Principles, proved Whigs; or each Side in the other mistaken: Being a plain Proof that each Party deny that Charge which the others bring against them; and that neither Side will disown those which the other profess. With an earnest Exhortation to all Whigs as well as Hanoverian Tories, to lay aside those uncharitable Heats among such Protestants, and seriously to consider and effectually to provide against those *Jacobites*, Popish and conforming Tories; whose principal Ground of Hope to ruin all sincere Protestants, is from those unchristian and violent Feuds among ourselves. London. J. Baker, 1713. Octavo.

Hanibal at the Gates; or, the Progress of Jacobitism, with the present Danger of the Pretender: and Remarks on a Pamphlet now published, intitled Hanibal not at our Gates, &c. London. J. Baker, 1714. Octavo.

Some Account of the two Night's Court at Greenwich, wherein may be seen the Reason, Rise, and Progress, of the late unnatural Rebellion. 1716. Octavo.

Remarks upon Remarks; or, some Animadversions on a Treatise wrote by one who calls himself Dr. Gardner, others

say Daniel De Foe, intituled Remarks on Febrifugium Magnum, wrote by the Reverend Dr. Hancock for the general Good of Mankind. Octavo.

Christian Conversation, in six Dialogues: 1. Between a doubting Christian and one more confirmed about Assurance;—2. Between the same Persons, about Mortification;—3. Between Eudoxius and Fidelius, about Natural Things spiritualized;—4. Between Simplicius and Conscius, about Union;—5. Between Thipsius and Melaudius, about Afflictions;—6. Between Athanasius and Bioes, about Death. By a Private Gentleman. Entered at Stationers-Hall, for W. Taylor, 2d November, 1720. Octavo.

Every Body's Business is no Body's Business; or, private Abuses public Grievances: Exemplified in the Pride, Insolence, and exorbitant Wages of our Women Servants, &c. By Andrew Moreton, Esq. Fourth Edition, corrected. 1725. Octavo.

The Protestant Monastery; or, a Complaint against the Brutality of the present Age, particularly the pertness and insolence of our Youth to aged Persons. With a Caution to People in Years how they give the Staff out of their own Hands, and leave themselves at the mercy of others. Concluding with a Proposal for erecting a Protestant Monastery, where Persons with small Fortunes may end their Days in Plenty, Ease, and Credit, without burdening their Relations or accepting Public Charities. By Andrew Moreton, Esq. 1727. Octavo.

Parochial Tyranny; or, the Housekeeper's Complaint against the Exactions, &c. of Select Vestries, &c. By Andrew Moreton, Esq. (no date.) Octavo.

Second Thoughts are best, or a further Improvement of a late Scheme to prevent Street Robberies: by which our Streets will be so strongly guarded and so gloriously illuminated, that any Part of London will be as safe and pleasant at Midnight, as at Noonday, and Burglary totally impracticable. With some Thoughts for suppressing Robberies in all the public Roads of England, &c. Humbly offered for the good of his Country, submitted to the Consideration of Parliament, and dedicated to his Sacred Majesty King George II. By Andrew Moreton, Esq. 1729. Octavo.

Augusta Triumphans; or, the Way to make London the most flourishing City in the Universe, &c. By Andrew Moreton, Esq. Second Edition. 1729. Octavo.

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| 2 Head of Lieut. Shortland, engraved by Sherwin, from a Painting of Shelley's | 22 The Kangaroo |
| 3 Head of Lieut. King, from a Painting by Wright | 23 The Spotted Opossum |
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| 6 A View in Port Jackson, with the Natives in their Canoes trouling | 26 Blue-bellied Parrot |
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| 8 Map of Lord Howe Island, and View of ditto | 28 Pennanthian Parrot |
| 9 Head of Lieut. Watts, drawn by Shelley, and engraved by Sherwin | 29 Pacific Parrot |
| 10 View of Natives and a Hut in New South Wales | 30 Sacred King's Fisher |
| 11 View of New South Wales | 31 Superb Warbler, male |
| 12 A large Plan of the Establishment at Sydney Cove, Port Jackson | 32 Superb Warbler, female |
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